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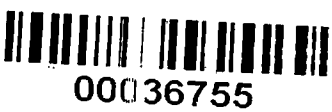
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HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND

FROM

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT,

TO

THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

BY

LORD MAHON.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

CHAPTER XI.

In the spring of 1720, the administration of Lord Stanhope had attained a high pitch of success and renown. By negotiation, he had driven Alberoni from Madrid; by force, the Spaniards from Sicily. The authority of the Regent had been secured in France, and his friendship with England confirmed; and some fresh difficulties which arose after Stanhope had left Paris in January, were adjusted by another journey of that Minister in March. At the same time the Cabinet of Vienna had been brought into a concert of measures and the ancient alliance renewed with the Dutch. In the North, the confederacy against Sweden had been successfully broken; Prussians, Danes, and Poles were disarmed; and the languid hostilities which the Czar still continued from his want of temper, must, it was evident, speedily terminate from

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his want of support.* The Jacobites could no longer fix their station, or conduct their intrigues, on the neighbouring coasts; an edict for their total banishment from France had been granted to Stanhope at Paris.† The Pretender had not left him a single great power to afford him aid or countenance, and was reduced to vague hopes and empty promises — to the prophecies of monks or the dreams of exiles! Thus, therefore, the exertions of Stanhope had happily restored peace throughout Europe; and it was by pursuing his policy, and treading in his footsteps, that Walpole afterwards preserved this blessing for so many years.

At home, the prospect for Stanhope was not less cheering. He had risen to much the highest place in the Royal confidence; a fact so well understood, that we find it publicly mentioned in some foreign State Papers of this period.‡ The defeat on the Peerage Bill had not shaken him or Sunderland; they were not less strong with Parliament; they were not less trusted by the King; and the party of Walpole, hopeless of overthrowing, consented to join them. This junction was on far from equal terms. It made no change at all in the measures, and but little in the men. Walpole received no higher place than Paymaster of the

* The Peace of Nystad between Russia and Sweden was signed August, 1721. (Dumont, Suppl. Corps Diplom. vol. viii. part 2. p. 36.)

† In March, 1720. See St. Simon, Mem. vol. xviii. p. 153. ed. 1829.

‡ Abbé Dubois to M. Landi, Jan. 19. 1720. (Hist. Regist. p. 76, &c.)

Forces (out of the Cabinet), nor Townshend than President of the Council; while Methuen was satisfied with an office in the Royal Household.* Their support, accordingly, was by no means warm and willing; they were treated as inferiors, and, of course, behaved as malecontents; but at all events their opposition was disarmed, and their connection with the Tories broken. Another great advantage attending their accession was, healing the breach in the Royal Family. Walpole, who had lately ingratiated himself with the Prince of Wales, induced him to write a submissive letter to the King; Stanhope induced His Majesty to receive it favourably: a meeting ensued, and a reconciliation was effected. This union, both of Statesmen and of Princes, dashed the best hopes of Jacobitism. Bishop Atterbury writes to James, that, though the reconciliation is far from sincere, it will by degrees become so, or that at least the appearances and consequences of it will be the same as if it really were. "I think myself obliged," he adds, "to represent this melancholy truth, that there "may be no expectation of any thing from hence, "which will certainly not happen." †

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Such, then, was the prosperous aspect of affairs,

* The vacancies were made by the Duke of Kent, the Earl of Lincoln, and Mr. Boscawen. The latter was rewarded with the title of Viscount Falmouth. Lord Lincoln was a personal friend of Stanhope, had taken office only at his solicitation, and readily relinquished it.

† Bishop Atterbury to James, May 6. 1720, Appendix. See also the Marchmont Papers, vol. ii. p. 409.

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when in June the King, attended by Stanhope, set out for his German dominions. But the happy calm was not of long continuance. It is now for me to relate how that glittering and hollow bubble, the South Sea Scheme, rising to the surface, broke the tranquillity and troubled the clearness of the waters.

The South Sea Company was first formed by Harley in 1711, his object being to improve public credit, and to provide for the floating debts, which at that period amounted to nearly 10,000,000*l*. The Lord Treasurer, therefore, established a fund for that sum. He secured the interest by making permanent the duties on wine, vinegar, tobacco, and several others; he allured the creditors by promising them the monopoly of trade to the Spanish coasts in America; and the project was sanctioned both by Royal Charter and by Act of Parliament. Nor were the merchants slow in swallowing this gilded bait; and the fancied Eldorado which shone before them dazzled even their discerning eyes. The exploits of Drake were quoted, and the dreams of Raleigh renewed. This spirit spread throughout the whole nation, and many, who scarcely knew whereabouts America lies, felt nevertheless quite certain of its being strewed with gold and gems. Meanwhile the partisans of Harley zealously forwarded this illusion, as tending to raise the reputation and secure the power of their chief; and they loudly vaunted the South Sea Scheme as the Earl of Oxford's master-piece, and as not unworthy of Sully or of Colbert.

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The negotiations of Utrecht, however, in this as in other matters, fell far short of the ministerial promises and of the public expectation. Instead of a free trade, or any approach to a free trade, with the American colonies, the Court of Madrid granted only, besides the shameful Asiento for negro slaves, the privilege of settling some factories, and sending one annual ship; and even this single ship was not unrestricted: it was to be under 500 tons burthen, and a considerable share of its profits to revert to the King of Spain. This shadow of a trade was bestowed by the British Government on the South Sea Company, but it was very soon disturbed. Their first annual ship, the Royal Prince, did not sail till 1717, and next year broke out the war with Spain; when, as I have already had occasion to relate, Alberoni, in defiance of the treaty, seized all the British goods and vessels in the Spanish ports. Still, however, the South Sea Company continued, from its other resources, a flourishing and wealthy corporation: its funds were high, its influence considerable, and it was considered on every occasion the rival and competitor of the Bank of England.

At the close of 1719, when the King returned from Hanover, this aspiring Company availed itself of the wish of Ministers to lessen the public debts, by consolidating all the funds into one. Sir John Blunt, once a scrivener, and then a leading South Sea Director, laid before Stanhope, as chief minister, a proposal for this object. He was re-

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ferred by Stanhope to Sunderland, as First Lord of the Treasury, and to Aislabie, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Several conferences ensued with the latter; several alterations were made in the scheme; and it was at length so far adjusted to the satisfaction of Ministers, that the subject was recommended to Parliament in the King's Speech.* The great object was to reduce the irredeemable Annuities granted in the two last reigns, for the term, mostly, of 99 years, and amounting at this time to nearly 800,000*l.* a year. But when the question came on in the House of Commons, a wish was expressed by Mr. Brodrick and many more, that every other company should be at liberty to make offers. This, exclaims the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was like setting the nation to auction; and the only point on which all parties concurred was one which experience has proved to be totally wrong. "I quite agreed with Ministers," says Mr. Brodrick, "that till the national debt was "discharged, or at least in a fair way of being "so, we were not to expect to make the figure we "formerly had! Nay, further, I said, till this was "done, we could not, properly speaking, call our-"selves a nation!" At length, after some violent

* Our best authorities for this negotiation, and the subsequent debate in the House of Commons, are, Mr. Brodrick's Letter to Lord Midleton, Jan. 24. 1720; and Mr. Aislabie's Second Speech before the House of Lords, July, 1721. The latter seems to be overlooked by Coxe. Both, however, require to be read with much suspicion; Aislabie being then on his defence, and Brodrick a violent partisan on the other side.

wrangling between Lechmere and Walpole*, the House divided, and the question of competition was carried by a very large majority.

New proposals were accordingly sent in, both from the South Sea Company and the Bank of England. According to Aislabie, this was a sudden resolution of the Bank, "who before had "shown great backwardness in undertaking any "thing to reduce the public debts, and had "treated this scheme with much contempt." †. Be this as it may, the two bodies now displayed the utmost eagerness to outbid one another, each seeming almost ready to ruin itself, so that it could but disappoint its rival. They both went on enhancing their terms, until at length the South Sea Company rose to the enormous offer of seven millions and a half, which was accepted. Yet the benefit of this competition to the public was any thing but real; for such high terms almost of necessity drew the South Sea Directors into rash means for improving their rash bargain, into daring speculation, and into final ruin.

The last proposals of the Bank had been little less extravagant. It is urged by Aislabie, in his defence next year before the Peers, "I will

* There seems to have been great uproar. When Lechmere attempted to speak a second time in Committee, the Opposition rose from their places; and on the Chairman exclaiming, "Hear "your Member," they answered, "We have heard him long "enough!" Brodrick to Lord Midleton, Jan. 24, 1720.

† Second Speech, July, 1721. See also Sinclair's Public Revenue, part 2. p. 104.

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"be bold to say, my Lords, and the gentlemen of "the Bank, I believe, will own, that if they had "carried the scheme upon their last proposals, "they could not have succeeded; and I will show "your Lordships, from what they have done since, "that they would have acted in the same manner "as the South Sea Company." Even at the time Aislabie had some glimmerings of the future danger, and proposed to Sir John Blunt that the two Corporations should undertake the compact jointly, and therefore with double resources. But Sir John, who was, or pretended to be, a most austere Puritan, and who brought forward Scripture on all occasions, immediately quoted Solomon's judgment, and added, "No, Sir, we will never "divide the child!"

Thus then the South Sea Bill proceeded through the House of Commons without any further competition from the Bank.* An attempt was made to introduce a clause fixing how many years' purchase should be granted to the annuitants by the South Sea Company. To this it was objected, that, as it was the interest of the Company to take in the annuities, and as the annuitants had the power of coming in or not as they pleased, there

* I must observe, that the observations ascribed to Walpole by Coxe (vol. i. p. 130.) seem to have been drawn up on Coxe's own ideas of probability. He makes Walpole point out "the "ruin and misery which then prevailed in France from similar "measures." Now this is quite an anachronism: the speech of Walpole was delivered Feb. 1. 1720; and at that time the system of Law was still in its glory.

was no doubt that the Company would offer advantageous terms, and that therefore the affair might safely be left to private adjustment. "Nor," says Aislabie, "would the South Sea Company "submit to be controlled in an undertaking they "were to pay so dear for." On these grounds was the clause rejected, though only by a majority of four. But these grounds, though specious and indeed well-founded, were not the only ones, and we shall see hereafter that several persons in Government had probably other reasons as weighty, though not quite so honourable, for supporting the Directors.

The South Sea Bill finally passed the Commons by a division of 172 against 55. In the Lords, on the 4th of April, the minority was only 17, notwithstanding an able speech from Lord Cowper, who compared the project to the Trojan horse, ushered in with great pomp and acclamation, but contrived for treachery and destruction. But, like every other statesman at this time, he did not foresee the real point or extent of danger; and nothing could be more erroneous than his prediction, that "the main public intention of this bill, the re-"purchase of annuities, would meet with insuper-"able difficulties." Such, on the contrary, was the rising rage for speculation, that on the passing of the bill very many of the annuitants hastened to carry their orders to the South Sea House, before they had even received any offer, or knew what terms would be allowed them! — ready to

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yield a fixed and certain income for even the smallest share in vast but visionary schemes!

The offer which was made to them on the 29th of May (eight years and a quarter's purchase) was much less favourable than they had hoped; yet nevertheless, six days afterwards, it was computed that nearly two thirds of the whole number of annuitants had already agreed.*

In fact, it seems clear, that during this time, and throughout the summer, the whole nation, with extremely few exceptions, looked upon the South Sea Scheme as promising and prosperous. Its funds rapidly rose from 130 to above 300. Walpole, although one of its opponents, readily, as we have seen, joined the Ministry at this period under very mortifying circumstances, which he would certainly not have done, had he foreseen the impending crash, and the necessity that would arise for his high financial talents. Lord Townshend concurred in the same view. Atterbury thought it a great blow to Jacobitism. He charitably hints to James, in his letters, that some attempt from the Duke of Ormond might "disorder our finances, and throw us "into a good deal of confusion." But if the advice of this minister of peace and good will towards men cannot be taken in this respect, he then anticipates that "the grand money schemes "will settle and fix themselves in such a manner

* Boyer's Polit. State, vol. xix. p. 518.

"that it will not be easy to shake them."* Such being the feeling, not merely of the ministerial party, but of most of their opponents, it seems scarcely just to cast the blame of the general delusion on the Ministers alone, and to speak of them as deaf to warning and precipitate to ruin.

The example of these vast schemes for public wealth was set us from Paris. John Law, a Scotch adventurer, had some years before been allowed to establish a public bank in that city; and his project succeeding, he engrafted another upon it of an "Indian Company," to have the sole privilege of trade with the Mississippi. The rage for this speculation soon became general: it rose to its greatest height about December, 1719; and the "actions," or shares, of the new Company sold for more than twenty times their original value. The Rue Quincampoix, the chief scene of this traffic, was thronged from daybreak by a busy and expecting crowd, which disregarded the hours of meals, and seemed to feel no hunger or thirst but that of gold; nor could they be dispersed until a bell at night gave them the signal to withdraw. The smallest room in that street was let for exorbitant sums; the clerks were unable to register the growing multitude of claimants; and it is even said that a little hunchback in the street gained no less than 50,000 francs by allowing

* Letters to James and to General Dillon, May 6. 1720. (See Appendix.)

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eager speculators to use his hump for their desk.* Law, the projector of this System, as it was called, at once became the greatest subject in Europe. "I have seen him come to Court," says Voltaire, "followed humbly by Dukes, by Marshals, and by "Bishops;" and even Dubois, the Prime Minister, and Orleans, the Regent, might be said to tremble at his nod. Arrogance and presumption, the usual faults of upstarts, daily grew upon him: he said publicly, before some English, that there was but one great kingdom in Europe, and one great town, and that was France and Paris.† And at length he so far galled the pride or raised the jealousy of his countryman, Lord Stair, as to draw him into personal wrangling, and consequently interrupt the friendly correspondence between the French and British Governments. It was one main object of Stanhope's journey in January to re-establish harmony; but finding the two Scotsmen irreconcilable, and one of them supreme in France, he, in concert with Dubois, recalled Lord Stair to England, and appointed Sir Robert Sutton his successor.‡ Thus ended Stair's celebrated embassy, which Lord Hardwicke truly calls most important in its objects, most brilliant and spirited in its execution.§ But this last great error kept him under

* Mém. de la Régence, tom. iv. p. 53. ed. 1749.

† Lord Stair to Secretary Craggs, Sept. 9. 1719.

‡ Lord Stanhope to Abbé Dubois, Dec. 18. 1719. (Append. vol. i.) and Lord Stair's apologetic letters in the Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 603—615.

§ Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. p. 521.

disgrace, or at least out of employment, for twenty years. In 1733, we find Horace Walpole write of him as one "whose haughty intriguing character "has drawn upon him the displeasure of the "King." *

The connection of Law with the French Government was very profitable to the latter, who contrived to throw off 1500 millions of public debts from their shoulders upon his; but this very circumstance, and the natural revulsion of high-wrought hopes, soon began to shake his air-built edifice. Two or three arbitrary Royal decrees to support him served only to prove that credit is not to be commanded. The more the public was bid to trust, the more they were inclined to fear, and the more eager they became to realise their imaginary profits. No sooner was the bubble touched, than it burst. Before the end of 1720, Law was compelled not only to resign his employments, but to fly the kingdom for his life: a few speculators were enriched, but many thousand innocent families ruined.† Still, however, in the early part

* To Baron Gedda, 1733. This, however, was after the Excise Scheme.

† In 1723, Walpole wished to promote the restoration of Law in France, since the power might fall into much worse hands for England. (To Sir Luke Schaub, April 19. 1723.) But the public resentment was far too violent to admit of such a scheme. It is very remarkable as the strongest proof of the ascendency of Lord Stanhope over Dubois and the French Government, that it was he who, from Hanover, planned and counselled all the steps for the expulsion of Law and the restoration of public credit in France. (M. Destouches to Dubois, Sept. 8. 1720. See Appendix.)

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of that year the crash had not yet begun, and the rage of speculation spread over from France to England. In fact, from that time downward, it may be noticed that each of the two countries has been more or less moved by the internal movements of the other; and there has been scarcely any impulse at Paris which has failed to thrill and vibrate through every member of the British Empire.

As soon as the South Sea Bill had received the Royal Assent in April, the Directors proposed a subscription of one million, which was so eagerly taken, that the sum subscribed exceeded two. A second subscription was quickly opened, and no less quickly filled. The most exaggerated hopes were raised, and the most groundless rumours set afloat; such as that Stanhope had received overtures at Paris to exchange Gibraltar and Port Mahon for some places in Peru! The South Sea trade was again vaunted as the best avenue to wealth; objections were unheard or over-ruled; and the friends of Lord Oxford might exult to see his visions adopted by his opponents. * In August, the stocks, which had been 130 in the winter, rose to 1000! Such general infatuation would have been happy for the Directors had they not them-

* "You remember when the South Sea was said to be Lord "Oxford's brat. Now the King has adopted it, and calls it his "beloved child: though perhaps you may say, if he loves it no "better than his son, it may not be saying much!" (Duchess of Ormond to Swift, April 18. 1720.

selves partaken of it. They opened a third, and even a fourth subscription, larger than the former; they passed a resolution, that from Christmas next their yearly dividend should not be less than fifty per cent.; they assumed an arrogant and overbearing tone. "We have made them Kings," says a Member of Parliament, "and they deal with every "body as such!"* But the public delusion was not confined to the South Sea Scheme; a thousand other mushroom projects sprung up in that teeming soil. This evil had been foreseen, and, as they hoped, guarded against by Ministers. On the very day Parliament rose they had issued a Royal Proclamation against "such mischievous and dangerous "undertakings, especially the presuming to act as "a corporate body, or raising stocks or shares "without legal authority." But how difficult to enforce that prohibition in a free country! How impossible, when, almost immediately on the King's departure, the Heir Apparent was induced to publish his name as a Governor of the Welsh Copper Company! In vain did the Speaker and Walpole endeavour to dissuade him, representing that he would be attacked in Parliament, and that "The Prince of Wales' Bubble" would be cried in Change Alley.† It was not till the Company was threatened with prosecution, and exposed to risk, that His Royal Highness prudently withdrew, with a profit of 40,000*l.*

* Mr. Brodrick to Lord Midleton, Sept. 13. 1720.

† Secretary Craggs to Earl Stanhope, July 12. 1720.

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Such an example was tempting to follow: the Duke of Chandos and the Earl of Westmoreland appeared likewise at the head of bubbles; and the people at large soon discovered that to speculate is easier than to work. Change Alley became a new edition of the Rue Quincampoix. The crowds were so great within doors, that tables with clerks were set in the streets. In this motley throng were blended all ranks, all professions, and all parties; Churchmen and Dissenters, Whigs and Tories, country gentlemen and brokers. An eager strife of tongues prevailed in this second Babel; new reports, new subscriptions, new transfers, flew from mouth to mouth; and the voice of ladies (for even many ladies had turned gamblers) rose, loud and incessant, above the general din. A foreigner would no longer have complained of the English taciturnity.* Some of the companies hawked about were for the most extravagant objects: we find amongst the number, "Wrecks to be fished for on "the Irish Coast — Insurance of Horses, and other "Cattle (two millions) — Insurance of Losses by "Servants — To make Salt Water Fresh — For "building of Hospitals for Bastard Children — For

* A French traveller, a few years afterwards, declares that the "Actions du Sud et les Galions d'Espagne" were almost the only subjects on which Englishmen would talk. In general, he says, we are quite silent. "L'on boit et fume sans parler. Je "connais un Anglais, qui, toutes les fois qu'on veut le forcer à "rompre le silence, a coutume de répondre, que parler c'est "gâter la conversation!" (Lettres d'un Français, tom. ii. p. 108. ed. 1745.)

" building of Ships against Pirates — For making " of Oil from Sun-flower Seeds — For improving " of Malt Liquors — For recovering of Seamen's " Wages — For extracting of Silver from Lead — " For the transmuting of Quicksilver into a mal- " leable and fine Metal — For making of Iron with " Pit-coal — For importing a Number of large Jack " Asses from Spain — For trading in Human Hair " — For fatting of Hogs — For a Wheel for a Per- " petual Motion." * But the most strange of all, perhaps, was " For an Undertaking which shall in " due time be revealed." Each subscriber was to pay down two guineas, and hereafter to receive a share of one hundred with a disclosure of the object; and so tempting was the offer, that 1000 of these subscriptions were paid the same morning, with which the projector went off in the afternoon. Amidst these real follies, I can scarcely see any difference or exaggeration in a mock proposal which was circulated at the time in ridicule of the rest,— " For the Invention of melting down Saw-dust and " Chips, and casting them into clean Deal Boards " without Cracks or Knots!"

Such extravagancies might well provoke laughter; but, unhappily, though the farce came first, there

* Macpherson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 90. ed. 1805. Mr. Hutcheson observes, " To speak in a gaming style, the " South Sea stock must be allowed the honour of being the " Gold Table; the better sort of bubbles, the Silver Tables; " and the lower sort of these, the Farthing Tables for the " footmen!" (Treatises, p. 87.)

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was a tragedy behind. When the sums intended to be raised had grown altogether, it is said, to the enormous amount of three hundred millions*, the first check to the public infatuation was given by the same body whence it had first sprung. The South Sea Directors, craving for fresh gains, and jealous of other speculators, obtained an order from the Lords Justices, and writs of SCIRE FACIAS, against several of the new bubble companies. These fell, but in falling drew down the whole fabric with them. As soon as distrust was excited, all men became anxious to convert their bonds into money; and then at once appeared the fearful disproportion between the paper promises and the coin to pay. Early in September, the South Sea Stock began to decline: its fall became more rapid from day to day, and in less than a month it had sunk below 300. In vain was money drained from all the distant counties and brought up to London. In vain were the goldsmiths applied to, with whom large quantities of stock were pawned: most of them broke or fled. In vain was Walpole summoned from Houghton to use his influence with the Bank; for that body, though it entered into negotiations, would not proceed in them, and refused to ratify a contract drawn up and proposed by the Minister.† Once lost, the public confidence

* Tindal's Hist. vol. vii. p. 357.

† Hutcheson's Second Postcript, Sept. 24. 1720. Treatises, p. 89. See also in my Appendix a letter from Lord Harvey to H. Walpole, Sept. 12. 1735.

could not be restored: the decline progressively continued, and the news of the crash in France completed ours. Thousands of families were reduced to beggary; thousands more were threatened with the same fate; and the large fortunes made, or supposed to be made, by a few individuals, served only by comparison to aggravate the common ruin. Those who had sported most proudly on the surface of the swollen waters were left stranded and bare by the ebbing of that mighty tide. The resentment and rage were universal. "I perceive," says a contemporary, "the very name of a South Sea "man grows abominable in every county*;" and a cry was raised not merely against the South Sea Directors, not merely against the Ministry, but against the Royal Family, against the King himself. Most of the statesmen of the time had more or less dabbled in these funds. Lord Sunderland lost considerably†; Walpole, with more sagacity, was a great gainer‡; the Duke of Portland, Lord Lonsdale, and Lord Irwin, were reduced to solicit West India Governments; and it is mentioned as an exception, that "neither Lords Stanhope, Argyle, nor "Roxburgh, have been in the stocks."§ Towns-

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* Mr. Brodrick to Lord Midleton, Sept. 27. 1720.

† Mr. Brodrick to Lord Midleton, Sept. 13. 1720.

‡ Coxe's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 730. Walpole sold out at the highest price (1000), saying, as he well might, "I am fully "satisfied." His wife continued to speculate a little longer on her own account.

§ Mr. Drummond to Mr. D. Pulteney, November 24. 1720. (Coxe's Walpole.)

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hend, I believe, might also be excepted. But the public indignation was pointed chiefly against Sir John Blunt as projector, and against Sunderland and Aislabie as heads of the Treasury; and it was suspected, how truly will afterwards appear, that the King's mistresses and several of his ministers, both English and German, had received large sums in stock to recommend the project. In short, as England had never yet undergone such great disappointment and confusion, so it never had so loudly called for confiscation and blood.

That there was some knavery to punish, I do not deny, and I shall presently show. It seems to me, however, that the nation had suffered infinitely more by their own self-willed infatuation than by any fraud that was or could be practised upon them. This should not have been forgotten when the day of disappointment came. But when a people is suffering severely, from whatever cause, it always looks round for a victim, and too often strikes the first it finds. It seeks for no proof; it will listen to no defence; it considers an acquittal as only a collusion. Of this fatal tendency our own times may afford a striking instance. Whilst the cholera prevailed at Paris and Madrid it was seen that the mob, instead of lamenting a natural and unavoidable calamity, were persuaded that the springs had been poisoned, and ran to arms for their revenge.

During this time, express after express was sent to the King at Hanover, announcing the dismal

news, and pressing his speedy return. George had intended to make a longer stay in Germany; but seeing the urgency of the case he hastened homewards, attended by Stanhope, and landed at Margate on the 9th of November. It had been hoped that his Majesty's presence would have revived the drooping credit of the South Sea Funds, but it had not that effect; on the contrary, they fell to 135 at the tidings that Parliament was further prorogued for a fortnight. That delay was necessary to frame some scheme for meeting the public difficulties, and this task, by universal assent, and even acclamation, was assigned to Walpole. Fortunately for that Minister he had been out of office when the South Sea Act was passed; he had opposed it as he had opposed all the measures, right or wrong, of Stanhope's and Sunderland's government, and its unpopularity, therefore, turned to his reputation with the country. Every eye was directed towards him; every tongue invoked him, as the only man whose financial abilities, and public favour, could avert the country's ruin. Nor did he shrink from this alarming crisis. Had he stood aloof, or joined the opposition, he would probably have had the power to crush the South Sea Directors and their abettors, and especially to wreak his vengeance upon Sunderland; and he is highly extolled by a modern writer for magnanimity in resisting the temptation.* But though

* Coxe's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 138. A letter in his second

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Walpole undoubtedly deserves great praise through all his administration for placability and personal forbearance, yet I can scarcely think the present case an instance of it. In this case the line of interest exactly coincided with the line of duty. Would not the King have shut out Walpole for ever from his confidence had Walpole headed this attack on his colleagues? Would not a large section, at least, of the Whigs, have adhered to their other chiefs? Was it not his evident policy, instead of hurling down the objects of popular outcry, to befriend them in their inevitable fall, and then quietly to step into their places, with the consent, perhaps even with the thanks, of their personal adherents?

Meanwhile the German ministers and mistresses, full of fear for themselves, and in utter ignorance of England, were whispering, it is said, the wildest schemes. One spoke of a pretended resignation to the Prince of Wales; another wished to sound the officers of the army, and try to proclaim absolute power; another again advised to apply to the Emperor for troops. But such mad proposals, if, indeed, they were ever seriously made, were counteracted by the English ministers, and still more, no doubt, by the King's own good sense and right feeling.

On the 8th of December Parliament met in a mood like the people's, terror-stricken, bewildered,

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volume (p. 194.) from Pulteney, then a friend of Walpole, confirms the view I have taken.

and thirsting for vengeance. In the House of Commons parties were strangely mixed; some men, who had dipped in dishonest practices, hoped by an affected severity to disarm suspicion; others, smarting under their personal losses, were estranged from their political attachments. Whigs and Tories crossed over, while the Jacobites, enjoying and augmenting the general confusion, hoped to turn it in their own behalf. The King's opening speech lamented the unhappy turn of affairs, and urged the seeking a remedy. This passed quietly in the Lords; but when Pulteney moved the Address in the Commons, Shippen proposed an angry amendment, and produced a violent debate. "Miscreants"—"scum of the people"—"enemies of their coun-"try;" such were the names given to the South Sea Directors. One member complained that the Ministry had put a stop to all the little bubbles, only in order to deepen the water for the great one. Lord Molesworth admitted that the Directors could not be reached by any known laws; "but extra-"ordinary crimes," he exclaimed, "call for extra-"ordinary remedies. The Roman lawgivers had not "foreseen the possible existence of a parricide; but "as soon as the first monster appeared, he was sewn "in a sack, and cast headlong into the Tiber; and "as I think the contrivers of the South Sea "Scheme to be the parricides of their country, "I shall willingly see them undergo the same "punishment!" Such was the temper of the times! On this occasion, Walpole spoke with his

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usual judgment, and with unwonted ascendency. He said that if the city of London were on fire, wise men would be for extinguishing the flames before they inquired after the incendiaries, and that he had already bestowed his thoughts on a proposal to restore Public Credit, which, at a proper season, he would submit to the wisdom of the House. Through his influence, chiefly, the amendment of Shippen was rejected by 261 against 103; but next day on the Report no one ventured to oppose the insertion of words "to punish the authors of our "present misfortunes." Three days afterwards it was carried that the Directors should forthwith lay before the House an account of all their proceedings *, and a Bill was introduced against "the "infamous practice of Stock-Jobbing."

It was amidst this general storm that Walpole, on the 21st of December, brought forward his remedy. He had first desired the House to decide whether or not the public contracts with the South Sea Company should be preserved inviolate. This being carried by a large majority, Walpole then unfolded his scheme; it was in substance to engraft nine millions of Stock into the Bank of England,

* "Governor Pitt moved that the Directors should attend on "Thursday with their *Myrmidons*, the secretary, and treasurer, "and, if they pleased, with their great *Scanderbeg*: who he "meant by that I know not; but the epithet denotes somebody "of consideration!" Mr. Brodrick to Lord Midleton, December 10. 1720. Compare with this letter the Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 680.

and the same sum into the East India Company, on certain conditions, leaving twenty millions to the South Sea. This measure, framed with great financial ability, and supported by consummate powers of debate, met with no small opposition, especially from all the three Companies, not one of which would gain by it; and though it passed both Houses, it was never carried into execution, being only permissive, and not found necessary, in consequence, as will be seen hereafter, of another law. CHAP. XI. 1720.

A short Christmas recess had no effect in allaying animosities. Immediately afterwards, a Bill was brought in by Sir Joseph Jekyll, restraining the South Sea Directors from going out of the kingdom, obliging them to deliver upon oath the strict value of their estates, and offering rewards to discoverers or informers against them.* The Directors petitioned to be heard by counsel in their defence, the common right, they said, of British subjects — as if a South Sea man had been still entitled to justice! Their request was rejected, and the Bill was hurried through both Houses. A Secret Committee of Inquiry was next appointed by the Commons, consisting chiefly of the most vehement opponents of the South Sea Scheme, such as Molesworth, Jekyll, and Brodrick, the latter of whom they selected for their Chairman. 1721.

This Committee proceeded to examine Mr.

* This last clause is mentioned by Brodrick to Lord Midleton, Jan. 19. 1721.

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Knight, the cashier of the Company, and the agent of its most secret transactions. But this person, dreading the consequences, soon after his first examination escaped to France, connived at, as was suspected, by some persons in power, and carrying with him the register of the Company. His escape was reported to the House on the 23d of January, when a strange scene of violence ensued. The Commons ordered the doors to be locked, and the keys to be laid on the table. General Ross then stated that the Committee, of which he was a member, had "discovered a train of the deepest "villany and fraud that hell ever contrived to "ruin a nation." No proof beyond this vague assertion was required: four of the Directors, members of the Parliament, were immediately expelled the House, taken into custody, and their papers seized! *

Meanwhile the Lords had been examining other Directors at their Bar, and on the 24th they also ordered five to be taken into custody. Some of the answers indicated that large sums in South Sea Stock had been given to procure the passing of the Act last year; upon which Lord Stanhope immediately rose, and expressing his indignation at such practices, moved a resolution, that any transfer of Stock, without a valuable consideration, for the use of any person in the administration during the pen-

* "Several of the Directors were so far innocent as to be "found poorer at the breaking up of the scheme than when it "began." (Macpherson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. iii, p. 112.)

dency of the South Sea Act, was a notorious and dangerous corruption. He was seconded by Lord Townshend, and the Resolution passed unanimously. On the 4th of February, the House, continuing their examinations, had before them Sir John Blunt, who, however, refused to answer, on the ground that he had already given his evidence before the Secret Committee of the Commons. How to proceed in this matter was a serious difficulty; and a debate which arose upon it soon branched into more general topics. A vehement philippic was delivered by the Duke of Wharton, the son of the late Minister, who had recently come of age, and who even previously had received the honour of a dukedom, his father having died while the patent was in preparation. This young nobleman was endowed with splendid talents, but had early plunged into the wildest excesses, and professed the most godless doctrines; and his declamations against the "villanous scheme," or on public virtue, came a little strangely from the President of the Hell-fire Club!* On this occasion he launched forth into a general attack upon the whole conduct of administration, and more than hinted that Stanhope had fomented the late dissension between the King and Prince of Wales. Look to his parallel, he cried, in

* On the 29th of April, this year, the King issued a Proclamation against the Hell-fire Club. Wharton hereupon played a strange farce: he sent to the House of Lords, declared that he was not, as was thought, a "patron of blasphemy," and pulling out an old family Bible, proceeded with a sanctified air to quote several texts! But he soon reverted to his former courses.

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Sejanus, that evil and too powerful minister, who made a division in the Imperial family, and rendered the reign of Tiberius hateful to the Romans! Stanhope rose with much passion to reply: he vindicated his own conduct and that of the administration; and in conclusion, after complimenting the Noble Duke on his studies in Roman history, hoped that he had not overlooked the example of the patriot Brutus, who, in order to assert the liberty of Rome, and free it from tyrants, sacrificed his own degenerate and worthless son! But his transport of anger, however just, was fatal to his health; the blood rushed to his head; he was supported home much indisposed, and relieved by cupping, but next day was seized with a suffocation, and instantly expired. Thus died James Earl Stanhope, leaving behind him at that time few equals in integrity, and none in knowledge of foreign affairs. His disinterestedness in money matters was so well known, that in the South Sea transactions, and even during the highest popular fury, he stood clear, not merely of any charge, but even of any suspicion with the public; and the King, on learning the news, was so affected, that he retired for several hours alone into his closet to lament his loss.

In the room of Stanhope, Townshend became Secretary of State; while Aislabie, finding it impossible to stem the popular torrent, resigned his office, which was conferred upon Walpole. But this resignation was far from contenting the public, or abating their eagerness for the report of the

Secret Committee. That Committee certainly displayed no want of activity: it sat every day from 9 in the morning till 11 at night, being resolved, as the Chairman expresses it, "to show how the "horse was curried!"* At length, on the 16th of February, their first Report was presented to the House. It appeared that they had experienced obstacles from the escape of Knight, from the taking away of some books, and from the defacing of others; but that the cross-examination of the Directors and Accountants had supplied the deficiency. A scene of infamous corruption was then disclosed. It was found that last year above half a million of fictitious South Sea Stock had been created, in order that the profit upon that sum might be disposed of by the Directors, to facilitate the passing of the Bill. The Duchess of Kendal had 10,000*l.*; another of the King's favourites, Madame de Platen, with laudable impartiality had the same sum; nor were the two nieces of the latter forgotten. Against these ladies no steps were, nor, perhaps, could be taken. But those persons in the administration accused of similar peculation were Secretary Craggs, his father the Postmaster-General, Mr. Charles Stanhope, Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Aislabie, and the Earl of Sunderland; and the Report added the various evidence in the case of each.

On the very day when this Report was reading

* Mr. Brodrick to Lord Midleton, Feb. 4. 1721.

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in the Commons died one of the statesmen accused in it, James Craggs, Secretary of State. His illness was the small-pox, which was then very prevalent*, joined no doubt to anxiety of mind. Whatever may have been his conduct in the South Sea affairs (for his death arrested the inquiry), he undoubtedly combined great talents for business, with a love of learning and of literature; and his name, were it even to drop from the page of History, would live enshrined for ever in the verse of Pope. But the fate of his father was still more lamentable: —a few weeks afterwards, when the accusation was pressing upon him, he swallowed poison and expired. If we may trust Horace Walpole, Sir Robert subsequently declared that the unhappy man had hinted his intention to him.†

The other cases were prosecuted by the House with proper vigour, and singly, as standing each on separate grounds. The first that came on was that of Mr. Charles Stanhope, Secretary to the Treasury: he was a kinsman of the late Minister, and brother of Colonel William Stanhope, afterwards Lord Harrington. It was proved that a large sum of stock had been entered for him in the bank of Sir George Caswall and Co., and that his name had been partly erased from their books,

* See a list of its victims in that month in Boyer's Political State, vol. xxi. p. 196, &c.

† Compare Walpole's Reminiscences, (Works, vol. iv. p. 288. ed. 1798,) and Brodrick's Letter to Lord Midleton, March 16. 1721.

and altered to STANGAPE. On his behalf it was contended that the transfer had been made without his knowledge or consent; but I am bound to acknowledge that I think the change of his name in the ledger a most suspicious circumstance. On a division he was declared innocent, but only by a majority of three. On this occasion, according to Mr. Brodrick, "Lord Stanhope, son to Lord "Chesterfield, carried off a pretty many, by men- "tioning in the strongest terms the memory of the "late Lord of that name."* This respect to a living Minister would not surprise us, but it surely was no small testimony to the merits of a dead one. CHAP. XI. 1721.

The next case was Aislabie's. It was so flagrant, that scarce any member ventured to defend him, and none to divide the House: he was unanimously expelled and sent to the Tower, and afterwards great part of his property seized. Many had been the murmurs at Stanhope's acquittal; and so great was the rejoicing on Aislabie's conviction, that there were bonfires that night in the City.

Lord Sunderland now remained. He was charged with having received, through Knight, 50,000*l.* stock, without payment; and the public outcry against him was fierce and loud, but, as I believe, unfounded. The charge rested entirely on hearsay testimony, on words which Sir John Blunt said that Knight had said to him: there was collateral evidence to shake it; and the character of Blunt him-

* To Lord Midleton, March 7. 1721.

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self was that of a dishonest, and now ruined and desperate man. It is also remarkable that Sunderland had in fact lost considerably by the South Sea Scheme, and that one of his bitterest enemies then accused him, not of having confederated with the Directors, but of being their dupe and victim.* So strong seemed these considerations, that a large majority (233 against 172) declared the Minister innocent. But, notwithstanding this acquittal, the popular ferment was too strong for Sunderland to continue at the head of the Treasury: he resigned, and was succeeded by Walpole. His influence at Court, however, still continued; and he obtained the appointment of Lord Carteret in the room of Secretary Craggs.

The South Sea Directors, on the other hand, were treated as a body, and with no measured severity. Amongst them was Mr. Gibbon, father of the great historian, who has raised his eloquent voice against the oppressions of that period.† They were disabled from ever holding any place or sitting in Parliament; and their estates, amounting altogether to above two millions sterling, were confiscated for the relief of the South Sea sufferers. Even the small allowance voted to each Director was often embittered by insult, or diminished by enmity. Sometimes an allowance of one shilling, or of twenty pounds, was jestingly

* Mr. Brodrick to Lord Midleton, Sept. 27. 1720.

† Gibbon, Memoirs (Miscell. Works, vol. i. p. 16. ed. 1814.)

moved. A rough answer of one Director at the Treasury many months before was rancorously quoted against him. Another it seems had been foolish enough to boast that his horses should feed on gold: a facetious member observed that he might now feed on it himself, and should have just as much gold as he could eat, and no more! CHAP. XI. 1721.

If we blame the conduct of Parliament towards these unhappy men we shall find that their contemporaries also complained of it. But it was for the exactly opposite reason! We may think such proceedings harsh and cruel; they thought them shamefully lenient. Petitions had been pouring in from all parts of the country praying for "condign punishment" on these "Monsters of pride "and covetousness" — "the Cannibals of Change "Alley"—"the infamous betrayers of their country!" One worthy representative laments the sad grievance that after all there will be nobody's blood shed! * And in pamphlets of the day I read such expressions as — "If you ask what, "monsters as they are, should be done with "them? the answer is short and easy — Hang "them! for whatever they deserve I would have "no new tortures invented, nor any new deaths devised. In this, I think, I show moderation. Let "them only be hanged, but hanged speedily!" †

This general exasperation and disappointment

* Mr. St. John Brodrick to Lord Midleton, May 24. 1721.

† Letter of Britannicus, London Journal, Nov. 19. 1720.

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made the House of Commons more chary than had been usual with them in voting the Supplies. When a King's message was sent down asking for a Subsidy of 72,000*l.* to Sweden, it was warmly opposed by many members, especially Lord Molesworth, who went into the whole state of Northern politics. He said that obtaining naval stores was the main advantage we reaped from our trade in the Baltic; that he owned hemp was a very necessary commodity, especially at this juncture (a remark which produced a general laugh), but that in his opinion we might be supplied more cheaply from our plantations in America. Nevertheless the Subsidy was carried.

The great object of Walpole was now the restoration of Public Credit. In addition to the measure formerly mentioned, and in fact as superseding it, he now proposed a fresh Bill, which met with the concurrence of both Houses. Of the seven millions and a half, which the South Sea Directors had agreed to pay the public, he remitted more than five, and on their incessant complaints the other two also were afterwards yielded. The forfeited estates served partly to clear their encumbrances; the credit of their bonds was maintained; and 33 per cent. of the capital was paid to the proprietors; and thus as far as possible was justice done to all parties, and the ill effects of the late calamity retrieved. Many proprietors, however, of the redeemable annuities were highly dissatisfied; on one occasion they thronged into the lobby,

tumultuously calling on each member as he passed, and holding out a paper with the words—"Pray "do justice to the Annuitants who lent their "money on Parliamentary security!" It was found necessary to read the Riot Act, and difficult to disperse the crowd, many of them exclaiming as they went, "You first pick our pockets, and then "send us to gaol for complaining!" CHAP. XI. 1721.

Nor did the motives and conduct of Walpole escape censure: he was long afterwards accused in the Craftsman of having made a collusive bargain with the Bank, and concerted his public measures with a view to his personal enrichment. Coxe frankly owns that he will not attempt to justify Sir Robert in every particular of these transactions*; but as to the main facts his defence seems quite satisfactory, and the Minister quite innocent; nor should it ever be forgotten, to the honour of Walpole, that he stepped forward at a most perilous and perplexing crisis, and that it was he who stood between the people and bankruptcy, between the King and sedition.

Throughout all these transactions there is nothing more remarkable than the national despondency and common forebodings of disasters for the future. For forty years after the accession of the House of Hanover our liberties were constantly pronounced on the very brink of extinction. After the South Sea year the country no less resounded

* Memoirs, vol. i. p. 158.

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with prophecies of a "sinking state" and "irretrievable ruin." Yet how little in either case has the event tallied with the expectation! If our Constitution has changed, it has certainly not been from any diminution of popular control. If our Commerce has changed, it has only been by swelling to a size and extent such as our forefathers, in their wildest speculations, never dreamed. Were it not beneath the dignity of History, I might indulge a conjecture, what would have been the feelings of Walpole or of Stanhope, had he some morning — at breakfast perhaps — been thus addressed by a projector or a prophet: "With that vapour which you see rising from the "tea-urn will I do the work of hundreds of "thousands of men. — I will ride without horses. — "I will sail against wind and tide. — I will carry "heavier burthens than the camel, and yet my speed "shall be swifter than the bird's! With another "such vapour will I fill vast globes, which you "shall see arise from the earth, and bear men up "into the bosom of the clouds! With these and "other such discoveries, shall you attain a new "era of wealth, prosperity, and knowledge. Cultivation shall spread beyond the fruitful valleys, "up into the chalk or clay, and drive sterility to "the very summits of the bleakest fells! The single "towns of Liverpool and Manchester shall engross "more trade and business than now the whole of "England. You shall have a hundred millions of "Indians for your subjects. Your yearly revenue

" shall be greater than the whole principal of your " present, which you call enormous and intolerable " debt." Had any seer thus spoken, would the Minister have withheld his indignation from the audacious impostor, or would not Bedlam have received the poor deluded wretch? Yet have all these things been fulfilled to the letter, and the widest prospect of national wealth, which the South Sea Directors ever held out in the very hey-day of their hopes, has been far—very far—outstripped by the reality!

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But should these mighty changes afford us unmixed exultation? Have not the tares grown up thickly with the corn? The frightful abuses of the Factory System—perhaps also the necessary evils of that system under any regulation, have raised up gaunt poverty side by side with overgrown wealth—a race of men bound to their superiors by no other tie than wages and hire—with no mutual and hereditary feelings of kindness—too rarely either provident in prosperity or patient in distress. Instead of the healthy and invigorating pursuits of agriculture, their unwholesome labours often tend only to dwarf the body and depress the mind. Behold in the pale and blear-eyed mechanic, in the feverish and stunted factory child, the descendants of the hardy and joyous English yeomen! No longer dwelling on the free hillside, but cooped up in noisome dens and wrapt in the smoke of a thousand manufactories, the sun and air that come to all, come

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not to them. Ready to sell their skill to the highest bidder, they are transferred without care and reflection from master to master, and from mill to mill. To their ever-growing numbers the religious provision of the Church has proved utterly inadequate, and in some cases their want of spiritual food has been supplied by the rankest poison. Through the kind exertions of agitators they have sometimes been made to read just enough to see objections against all religion and all government, and not enough to see those objections triumphantly refuted. God forbid that this description should apply to all! But does it not apply to more than a few? And is such a state of things free from grievous misery? Is it free from appalling danger?

The South Sea Scheme, and the consequent exasperation throughout the country, seemed to render a Dissolution of Parliament a most perilous venture, and yet its septennial period was near at hand. Hence was suggested a remedy far worse than the danger—an idea of obtaining another special prolongation of the term; and it is said that of the King's chief advisers, this idea was opposed by Sunderland, but advised by Walpole. This is reported by Mr. St. John Brodrick*, nephew to Lord Midleton, who had just, as he tells us, carried his election at Beralston through Walpole's in-

* To Lord Midleton, June 10. 1721. Lord Orrery repeats a report to just the contrary effect, Oct. 28. 1721. See Appendix.

fluence, and was not therefore likely to misrepresent his opinions; yet it seems difficult to believe that so cool and cautious a statesman could have supported this violent and unconstitutional scheme. Be this as it may, the scheme, if ever entertained, was soon relinquished; the Parliament met again for a very short and unimportant Session, in the winter of 1721, and was dissolved in the March following. The country was then restored to quiet, and the new elections, like the last, gave a large and overwhelming majority to the party in power. CHAP. XI. 1721. 1722.

In less than three weeks after the elections, on the 19th of April, died the Earl of Sunderland, so suddenly that poison was rumoured, but his body being opened the surgeons discovered a disease in the heart.* His character I have elsewhere endeavoured to portray, and it only remains for me to touch upon a charge connected with the last year of his life. He is suspected by a contemporary of having "entered into such correspondence and designs "as would have been fatal to himself or to the "public"†—in plain words, intrigues with the Pretender. Certain it is that at the time the Jacobites had strong hopes of gaining him; but their most secret correspondence, so far as I have seen it, in the Stuart Papers, does not go beyond hopes, rumours,

* See the medical certificate in Boyer's Polit. State, vol. xxiii. p. 453.

† Tindal's Hist. vol. vii. p. 450.

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and loose expressions*: and finally, when Mr. Lockhart, a leader of their party in Scotland, distinctly applied to James, at the eve of the new elections, to know how far their support should be given to any friend of Sunderland, the Chevalier answers, January 31. 1722, "It is very true that "Sunderland has to some people made of late "a show of wishing me well; but I have never "heard directly from him myself, and have been "far from having any particular proof of his "sincerity."† This, in fact, appears the upshot of the whole affair; and it is far from improbable that the overtures of Sunderland may have been to win over some leading Tories to his party, and not to attach himself to theirs. The hopes of his support were, perhaps, just as groundless as when Atterbury, four years afterwards, drew up an elaborate argument to prove that Walpole intended to restore the Stuarts whenever George the First should die!‡

But further still, there seems great reason to believe that however Sunderland may have tampered with the Jacobites for the object of obtaining their support, he did not take a single step without the knowledge and approval of his sovereign. After his death the Regent of France, speaking to

* James to Mr. Menzies, July 20. 1721. Lord Orrery to James, October 28. 1721. See Appendix.

† Lockhart's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 74.

‡ See this paper in Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 226.

the English minister at Paris, expressed his suspicion that Sunderland had intrigued with the Pretender's party, and stated some facts in corroboration of the charge. This was accordingly communicated to Lord Carteret as Secretary of State; but Carteret's answer was as follows: — "A thousand thanks for your private letter, which "affords me the means of obviating any calumny "against the memory of a person who will be "always dear to me. I have shown it to the King, "who is entirely satisfied with it."*

Lord Sunderland, as I have stated, died on the 19th of April. The father very speedily followed the son-in-law; and England lost one of her noblest worthies in John, Duke of Marlborough. A paralytic attack in 1716 had impaired his commanding mind, and he expired on the 16th of June in this year. His achievements do not fall within my limits, and his character seems rather to belong to the historians of another period. Let them endeavour to delineate his vast and various abilities — that genius which saw humbled before it the proudest Mareschals of France — that serenity of temper which enabled him patiently to bear, and bearing to overcome all the obstinacy of the Dutch Deputies, all the slowness of the German Generals —

* Sir Luke Schaub to Lord Carteret, June 1. 1722. Lord Carteret's answer, June 21. 1722. Coxe's Collections, vol. lii. This volume contains several other proofs to the same effect; but the one I have given above seems decisive.

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those powers of combination so provident of failure, and so careful of details that it might almost be said of him that before he gave any battle he had already won it! Let them describe him great in council as in arms, not always righteous in his ends, but ever mighty in his means!

The Duke left his widow in possession of enormous wealth, insomuch that she was able in some degree to control the public loans and affect the rate of interest.* This wealth — or, as they declared, her personal charms even at the mature age of sixty-two — soon attracted several suitors around her, especially the Duke of Somerset and Lord Coningsby. Their letters are still preserved at Blenheim. Coningsby writes like a man bewildered with the most passionate love: — "To my dearest, dearest Lady "Marlborough alone I could open the inmost "thoughts of my loaded heart, and by her exalted "wisdom find relief! ..... Whither to go or how "to dispose of a life entirely devoted to you, I "know not till I receive your orders and commands. ..... I live in hopes that the great and "glorious Creator of the world, who does and "must direct all things, will direct you to make "me the happiest man upon the face of the earth, "and enable me to make my dearest, dearest Lady "Marlborough, as she is the wisest and best, the

* Robert Walpole to Lord Townshend, August 30. 1723. See also Coxe's Life of Marlborough, vol. vi. p. 387.

"happiest of all women!"* This effusion, be it observed, was written only six months after her husband's decease. But both to Coningsby and Somerset the Duchess replied with a noble and becoming spirit. She declared that if she were only thirty instead of sixty she would not allow even the Emperor of the world to succeed in that heart which had been devoted to John, Duke of Marlborough. CHAP. XI. 1722.

The deaths in such rapid succession of Stanhope, Craggs, and Sunderland, and the expulsion of Aislabie, left Walpole entirely master of the field. The late schism between rival statesmen was closed up, as it were, with coffins; and although, as will be seen, there were still some dissensions in the Cabinet, these found no echo either in Parliament or in the country. No longer was the Whig party divided, no longer the House of Commons nearly balanced. The late elections had confirmed the Ministerial majority, and the Jacobites and Tories despairing of victories in Parliament rather turned their minds to projects of conspiracy or hopes of invasion. In the session of 1724, for example, there was only one single public division in the House of Commons. From this time forward, therefore, and during a considerable period, the proceedings of Parliament seem no longer to require or admit the same minute detail

* To the Duchess of Marlborough, November 20. 1722. Blenheim Papers and Coxe's Copies, vol. xliii.

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as I have hitherto given them, nor shall I have to record either rebellion at home or great wars abroad. The twenty years of Walpole's administration (to their high honour be it spoken) afford comparatively few incidents to History. Of these years I shall therefore have much less to say than of the tumultuous periods both before and after them, nor let the reader imagine that my flow of narrative is altered because it glides more swiftly on smooth ground.

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THE confusion and disaffection which followed the South Sea Scheme were of course highly favourable to the views of the Jacobites and revived their drooping hopes, and still more were they cheered at the birth of an heir even though at a time when there was nothing to inherit. The prospect of this event was first communicated to them in the spring of 1720:—"it is the most acceptable news," writes Bishop Atterbury, "which can reach the "ears of a good Englishman." * Lord Oxford also was consulted as to the number and rank of the persons who should be invited as witnesses on this solemn occasion. † At length on the last day of the year the titular Queen of England, then residing at Rome, was delivered of a Prince, who received the names of Charles Edward Lewis Casimir, and became the hero of the enterprise of 1745. According to the fond fancy of the Jacobites, there appeared a

* Letter to James, May 6. 1720. Appendix.
† James to Lord Oxford, May 26. 1720. Appendix.

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star in the heavens at the moment of his birth * ; and, what is rather more certain, seven Cardinals were present by order of the Pope.† The Pretender's second son, Henry Benedict, Duke of York, and afterwards Cardinal, was not born till 1725.

At this period the Jacobites seem really to have deluded themselves so far as to believe that the hearts of nearly the whole nation, even down to the rabble, were with them. Thus James is told by Lord Lansdowne :—"There were great re-"joicings in London upon the Lord Mayor's day, "whose name happening to be Stuart, the people "made the streets ring with no other cry but A "Stuart! A Stuart! High Church and Stuart! "Every day produces some new evidence of their "inclination." ‡ To promote the favour of the multitude the Jacobites often made use of reasonings suited only to its capacity. Thus when the King's German mistresses were inveighed against, as they might justly be, it is gravely stated, amongst other grounds of complaint, that they are not sufficiently young and handsome! For instance, the letter of Decius in Mist's Journal, May 27. 1721, laments, that "we are ruined by trulls, nay, what "is more vexatious, by old ugly trulls, such as "could not find entertainment in the most hospit-

* See the Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 568., and the Medals of the Stuarts in exile, No. 53., in Sir H. Ellis' Catalogue.

† St. Simon, Mem. vol. xviii. p. 338. A Te Deum was afterwards sung in the Pope's chapel, and in his presence.

‡ Lord Lansdowne to James, Nov. 17. 1721. Stuart Papers.

"able hundreds of Old Drury!" This letter was warmly resented by the House of Commons on the motion of Lechmere, and Mr. Mist the printer was sentenced to fine and imprisonment; but his journal continued many years afterwards under the new and punning title of Fog's.

The affairs of James in England were at this time managed by a Junta, or Council of five persons, namely, as it would seem, the Earls of Arran and Orrery, Lords North and Gower, and the Bishop of Rochester. Between them and James an active correspondence was carried on, for the most part in cipher or with cant names, and generally by the hands of non-jurors, Roman Catholic priests, and other trusty persons that were constantly passing to and fro. There were also communications with Lord Oxford, probably through Erasmus Lewis, his former Secretary, a man of fidelity and talent, but not much courage; at least I find his excessive caution a subject of good-humoured jest among his friends.* It appears that the Council of Five was often discordant and wrangling in its deliberations, and this in the opinion of James showed the necessity of a single head, by which means, he says, his business would certainly be done with much more harmony

* "Lewis is in the country with Lord Bathurst, and has writ "me a most dreadful story of a mad dog that bit their hunts-"man; since which accident, I am told he has shortened his "stirrups three bores; they were not long before!" Dr. Arbuthnot to Swift, December 11. 1718.

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and secrecy. He wrote to suggest that Lord Oxford should act as the chief*; but that nobleman had retired to the country, his irresolution had (if possible) increased, and his health was declining, and in fact he died in two years from this time. The old management therefore appears to have continued. Of the Five, Lord Arran had all the mediocrity of his brother, Ormond, without any of his reputation. Lord Gower was a man of sense and spirit, and great local influence: — "no "man within my memory," writes Dr. King, "was "more esteemed and reverenced."† Orrery was one of a family where genius had hitherto been a sort of heir-loom, and he had not degenerated. Parliamentary talents and military knowledge were centered in Lord North; he had served under Marlborough, and lost an arm at the battle of Blenheim, and, in the absence of Ormond, was acknowledged as the Jacobite General.

But by far the ablest of this Junta, and indeed not inferior in talent to any one of his contemporaries, was Francis Atterbury. Born in 1662, and educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, he distinguished himself at a very early age by a powerful defence of Luther, and on taking orders commanded universal attention by his eloquence and active temper. It was by him that the

* James to Lord Lansdowne, April 13. 1722. Lansdowne about this time withdrew into France, where he remained for ten years.

† Anecdotes of his own Time, p. xlv.

Lower House of Convocation was mainly guided and governed; he was high in the confidence of Queen Anne's last ministers, and in 1713 was promoted by them to the Deanery of Westminster and Bishoprick of Rochester. Few men have attained a more complete mastery of the English language; and all his compositions are marked with peculiar force, elegance, and dignity of style. A fine person and a graceful delivery added lustre to his eloquence, both in the pulpit and in the House of Lords. His haughty and aspiring mind constantly impelled him into violent measures, which were well supported by his abilities, but which seemed in some degree alien from his sphere. It is well observed by Mirabeau, in speaking of the Duke of Brunswick, that one great sign of a well regulated character is not merely to be equal to its daily task, but to be satisfied with it, and not to step beyond it in search of fresh employment.* Atterbury, on the contrary, could never remain tranquil. He might be compared to the chivalrous Peterborough exclaiming to the Minister, — "You must find "me work in the Old World or the New!"† His devotion to the Protestant faith was warm and

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* "Une marque d'un très bon esprit ce me semble, et d'un "caractère supérieur, c'est moins encore qu'il suffit au travail "de chaque jour que le travail de chaque jour lui suffit." Histoire Sécrète de Berlin, &c., vol. i. p. 30. ed. 1789.

† See his letter to Swift, April 18. 1711. On the style of this striking letter Swift remarks in his Journal, "He writes so "well, I have no mind to answer him; and so kind, that I must "answer him!"

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pure; his labours for the Established Church no less praiseworthy; but his defence was of somewhat too fierce and turbulent a character; he thought less of personal worth than of party principles in others; and he was one of those of whom it has been wittily said, that out of their zeal for religion they have never time to say their prayers! Yet in private life no trace of his vehemence and bitterness appeared; his "softer hour" is affectionately remembered by Pope; and his own devoted love to his daughter, Mrs. Morice, sheds a milder light around his character. On the whole, he would have made an admirable Bishop had he been a less good partisan.

The political views of Atterbury were always steadily directed against the accession of the House of Hanover. When the Rebellion broke forth in 1715, a Declaration of Abhorrence of it was published by the other Prelates; but Atterbury refused to sign it on the pretext of some reflections it contained against the High Church party. At no distant period from that time we find him in frequent corespondence with James, writing for the most part in a borrowed hand, and under counterfeit names, such as Jones, or Illington. Were we inclined to seek some excuse for his adherence to that cause, we might, perhaps, find it in his close study of Lord Clarendon's History, which he himself had edited conjointly with Aldrich and Smalridge. I have always considered the publication of that noble work (it first

appeared under Queen Anne) as one of the main causes of the second growth of Jacobitism. [How great seems the character of the author! How worthy the principles he supports, and the actions he details! Who could read those volumes and not first be touched, and at last be won, by his unconquerable spirit of loyalty — by his firm attachment to the fallen — by his enduring and well-founded trust in God when there seemed to be none left in man! Whose heart could fail to relent to that unhappy Monarch more sinned against than sinning — to that "gray discrowned head" which lay upon a pillow of thorns at Carisbrook, or rolled upon a block at Whitehall! Or whose mind would not brighten at the thought of his exiled son — in difficulty and distress, with every successive attempt disappointed — every rising hope dashed down — yet suddenly restored against all probable chances, and with one universal shout of joy! How spirit-stirring must that History have been to all, but above all to those (and there were many at that time) whose own ancestors and kinsmen are honourably commemorated in its pages — the soldiers of Rupert — or the friends of Falkland! Can we wonder then, or severely blame, if their thoughts sometimes descended one step lower, and turned to the grandson — also exiled for no fault of his own, and pining in a distant land, under circumstances not far unlike to those of Charles Stuart in France! I know the difference of the cases — and most of all in what Atterbury

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ought least to have forgotten — in religion; I am not pleading for Jacobitism; but I am pleading for the honest delusion and pardonable frailty of many who espoused that cause; I am anxious to show that the large section of our countrymen which sighed for the restoration of James, were not all the base and besotted wretches we have been accustomed to consider them.

The great object of Atterbury, and of the other Jacobite leaders, was to obtain a foreign force of 5000 foreign troops to land under Ormond. Failing in this, from the engagements of the English Government with almost every Continental Court, they determined, nevertheless, to proceed with only such assistance in arms, money, and disbanded officers or soldiers, as could be privately procured abroad. For this purpose their manager in Spain was Ormond; in France, General Dillon, an Irish Roman Catholic, who had left Ireland after the capitulation of Limerick, and had since risen in the French service. The project was to have made themselves masters of the Tower; to have seized the Bank, the Exchequer, and other places where the public money was lodged, and to have proclaimed the Pretender at the same time in different parts of the kingdom. The best time for this explosion was thought to be during the tumults and confusion of the General Election; but the chiefs not being able to agree among themselves, it was deferred till the King's journey to Hanover, which was expected to take place in the summer.

James himself was to embark at Porte Longone, where three vessels were ready for him, and to sail secretly to Spain, and from thence to England, as soon as he should hear of the King's departure. Already had he left Rome for a villa, the better to cover his absence when it should take place; and with a similar view had Ormond also gone from Madrid to a country seat half-way to Bilbao.* CHAP XII. 1722.

But the eye of the Government was already upon them. One of their applications for 5000 troops had been made to the Regent of France, who, as they might have foreseen, so far from granting their request, immediately revealed it to Sir Luke Schaub, the English Minister †; on the condition, it is said, that no one should die for it. ‡ Other intelligence and discoveries completed the information of the Government, and they became apprised, not merely of the intended schemes and of the contriving heads, but also of the subaltern agents, especially Thomas Carte and Kelly, two non-juring clergymen; Plunkett, the same Jesuit whose active intrigues in 1713 have been mentioned at that period; Neynoe, another Irish priest, and Layer, a

* Robert Walpole to Horace, May 29. 1722. Reports of Select Committee, 1723. W. Stanhope to Lord Carteret, June 8. 1722. Appendix.

† Schaub had been knighted at Stanhope's recommendation in October, 1720; and next year was appointed Minister at Paris. (Boyer's Polit. State, vol. xx. p. 379, &c.)

‡ Speaker Onslow's Remarks. Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 554.

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young barrister of the Temple. So many of their letters were intercepted abroad, that at length some conspirators perceiving it, wrote letters on purpose to be opened, and with false news, to mislead and distract the Government; but this artifice could not impose on the sagacity of Walpole.* Prudent measures were now adopted with prudent speed. The King was persuaded to relinquish his journey to Hanover for this year; and troops were immediately drawn to London, and a camp formed in Hyde Park. An order was also obtained from the Court of Madrid to restrain Ormond from embarking. This would no doubt have been sufficient to make the conspirarors postpone their scheme, but the object was to crush it altogether; and with this view warrants were issued for the apprehension of all the subaltern agents above named, and of several others.

On the 21st of May, accordingly, Mr. Kelly was seized at his lodgings in Bury Street by two messengers. They came upon him by surprise, and took his sword and papers, which they placed in a window while they proceeded with their search. But their negligence gave Kelly an opportunity of recovering his weapon, and of threatening to run through the first man that came near him; and so

* Letter to Horace Walpole, May 29. 1722. Even where no trap was intended, the Report of the Select Committee observes of their cant names and allegories, that "several of these disguises are so gross and obvious, that they only serve to betray themselves." This I have remarked in many of the Stuart Papers.

saying he burnt his papers in a candle with his left hand, while he held his drawn sword in the other. When the papers were burnt, and not till then, he surrendered. Neynoe, on his arrest, showed equal spirit, but did not meet with the same success. He escaped from a window two stories high by tying the blankets and sheets together, and came down upon a garden-wall near the Thames, from whence he leaped into the water, but as he could not swim was drowned. An attempt to escape was also made by Layer; but being brought back, he was examined at great length, and with some success. Much information was also gained from the papers, none from the answers, of Plunkett. As for Carte, the same whose historical writings have since gained him a high and deserved reputation, he fled betimes to France.

At the news of the arrest of Layer, Lord North, who had been principally in communication with that person, fearing the consequences, passed over under a feigned name to the Isle of Wight, intending from thence to make his way to the Continent; but he was discovered, seized, and brought back to London. Some time afterwards Lord Orrery was sent to the Tower; at a later period still, the Duke of Norfolk. But the evidence against these noblemen being insufficient, or the Government less eager to press it, they were, after some confinement, released. The Bishop of Rochester was less fortunate. The proofs against him might also have

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been thought too scanty, had it not been for a very trifling and ridiculous but most convincing incident. The case was as follows: — There was no doubt that the letters to and from Jones and Illington were of a treasonable nature; the point was to prove that these names were designed for the Bishop. Now it so happened that Mrs. Atterbury, who died early this year, had a little before received a present from Lord Mar in France of a small spotted dog called Harlequin; and this animal having broken its leg, and being left with one Mrs. Barnes to be cured, was more than once mentioned in the correspondence of Jones and Illington. Mrs. Barnes and some other persons were examined before the Council on this subject, and they, supposing that at all events there could be no treason in a lap-dog, readily owned that Harlequin was intended for the Bishop of Rochester. There were many other collateral proofs; but it was the throwing up of this little straw which decisively showed from what quarter blew the wind.

Had the proofs against Atterbury been less strong, or his abilities less dangerous, the Ministers would probably have shrunk from the unpopularity of touching him. As it was, they hesitated during three months; but at length, on the 24th of August, a warrant being issued, the Bishop was arrested at the Deanery, and brought before the Council. Though taken by surprise, his answers to their questions showed his usual coolness and self-possession, and he is said to have concluded

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with the words of the Saviour:—"If I tell you, "ye will not believe, and if I also ask you, ye will "not answer me, nor let me go."* After three quarters of an hour's examination he was sent to the Tower privately in his own coach, without any public notice or disturbance.

The arrest of a Bishop, for the first time since the ill-omened precedent of James the Second, was, however, no sooner known than it produced a general clamour. The High Churchmen had always inveighed against the Government as neglecting the Establishment and favouring the Dissenters, and this new incident was of course urged in confirmation of the charge. They called it an outrage upon the Church and the Episcopal Order; and they boldly affirmed that the plot had no real existence, and was a mere ministerial device for the ruin of a political opponent. Atterbury had also great influence among the parochial clergy, not only from the weight of his abilities, but from his having so long stood at the head of their party in Convocation. Under the pretence of his being afflicted with the gout, he was publicly prayed for in most of the churches of London and Westminster; and there was spread among the people a pathetic print of the Bishop looking through the bars of a prison, and holding in his hand a portrait of Archbishop Laud. The public ferment was still further increased by rumours (I

* St. Luke, xxii. 67, 68.

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fear too truly founded) of the great harshness with which Atterbury was treated in the Tower. "Such "usage, such hardships, such insults as I have "undergone," said the Bishop himself on his trial, "might have broke a more resolute spirit, and a "much stronger constitution than fall to my share. "I have been treated with such severity, and so "great indignity, as I believe no prisoner in the "Tower of my age, infirmities, function, and rank "ever underwent."* He was encouraged, or permitted, to write private letters which were afterwards pried into, and made use of to support the accusation against him. He was restricted in his only consolation—the visits of his beloved daughter †, nor was he at first allowed to prepare freely for his defence with his son-in-law, Mr. Morice. ‡ Every thing sent to him was narrowly searched; even some pigeon-pies were opened: "it is the first time," says Pope, "dead pigeons have "been suspected of carrying intelligence!"§

It was amidst great and general excitement that the new Parliament met on the 9th of October. The King's Speech gave a short account of the

* Speech, May 11. 1723.

† He writes to Lord Townshend, April 10. 1723,—"I am "thankful for the favour of seeing my daughter any way; but "I was in hopes the restraint of an officer's presence in respect to "her might have been judged needless."

‡ Preface to his Correspondence, p. vi. Mr. Morice used to stand in an open area, and the Bishop to look out of a two pair of stairs window, and thus only were they allowed to converse!

§ Pope to Gay, Sept. 11. 1722.

conspiracy:—"I should less wonder at it," he said, "had I, in any one instance since my acces-"sion to the throne, invaded the liberty or pro-"perty of my subjects." With equal justice he observed on the infatuation of some Jacobites and the malice of others,—"By forming plots they "depreciate all property that is vested in the "Public Funds, and then complain of the low state "of credit; they make an increase of the national "expences necessary, and then clamour at the "burthen of taxes, and endeavour to impute to my "government, as grievances, the mischiefs and "calamities which they alone create and occasion." The first business of the Commons, after again placing Mr. Compton in the Chair, was to hurry through a bill suspending the Habeas Corpus Act for one year. Mr. Spencer Cowper, and Sir Joseph Jekyll, observed that the Act had never yet been suspended for so long a period, and proposed six months, declaring, that at the end of that period they would, if necessary, readily agree to a further suspension. Yet notwithstanding the popularity and plausibility of this amendment, it was rejected by 246 votes against 193.

The next subject with both Houses was the Pretender's declaration. It appears that James had been so far deluded by the sanguine hopes of his agents, or by his own, as to believe that the British people were groaning under a state of bondage and oppression, and that the King himself was ready to cast off an uneasy and precarious crown. Under

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these impressions, he issued from Lucca, on the 22d of September, a strange manifesto, proposing, that if George will quietly deliver to him the throne of his fathers, he will, in return, bestow upon George the title of King in his native dominions, and invite all other States to confirm it; with a promise to leave his succession to the British dominions secure, if ever, in due course, his natural right should take place. This declaration was printed and distributed in England. Both Houses expressed their astonishment at its "surprising insolence:" it was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman; and a joint address was presented to His Majesty, assuring him that the designs of the public enemy shall be found "impracticable against a "Prince relying on and supported by the vigour "and duty of a British Parliament, and the affections of his people."

Walpole, availing himself of the general resentment, next proposed to raise 100,000*l.* by a tax upon the estates of Roman Catholics. The project of Stanhope to relieve them from the Penal Laws, which was still on foot at the beginning of the South Sea Scheme *, had been arrested, first by the crash, and then by his death. Moderation to the Roman Catholics had always been one of his leading principles of government. Other maxims now prevailed; a system of general and indiscri-

* Mr. Brodrick to Lord Midleton, January 24. 1720. Refer to my first vol. p. 490.

minate punishment, which was, at least, nearly allied to persecution, and which, if it did not find every Roman Catholic a Jacobite, was quite sure to make him so. Many, said Walpole, had been guilty — an excellent reason for punishing all! With a better feeling did Onslow (afterwards Speaker) declare his abhorrence of persecuting any others on account of their opinions in religion. Sir Joseph Jekyll, after praising the moderation and wisdom of the King, wished he could say the same of those who had the honour to serve him. But the proposal of Walpole was quite in accordance with the temper of the times; it was not only carried by 217 against 168, but, on a subsequent motion, was even extended to all nonjurors.* The House, however, favourably entertained a singular petition from the family of the Pendrills, praying to be exempted from the tax on account of the services of their ancestors in preserving Charles the Second after the battle of Worcester.†

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Amongst the foremost evils (and they were many) of this persecuting spirit, was the frightful degree of perjury which it produced. For as the estates of nonjurors were to be taxed, it became necessary to determine precisely who were non-

* I am sorry to find Coxe assert, in a blind panegyrical spirit, that "though scarcely conformable to justice, the policy of this "measure was unquestionable." How far more correct and enlightened were the views which he himself has published of Speaker Onslow! See Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 175., and vol. ii. p. 555.

† Commons' Journals, vol. xx. p. 210.

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jurors or not; in other words, almost the whole nation was to be summoned to swear allegiance to the Government. Nor was it explicitly stated what would be the consequence of this refusal, but a sort of vague threat was hung over them; and it seemed a trap in which, when once caught, men might hereafter be subjected not only to the largest fines, but even to forfeiture and confiscation. "I saw a great deal of it," says Speaker Onslow, "and it was a strange, as well as ridi-"culous, sight to see people crowding at the "Quarter Sessions to give a testimony of their alle-"giance to a Government, and cursing it at the "same time for giving them the trouble of so doing, "and for the fright they were put into by it; and "I am satisfied more real disaffection to the King "and his family arose from it than from any thing "which happened in that time." Some of the Jacobites consulted their Prince as to the course which they should pursue in this emergency, but he prudently avoided any positive answer.* It was thought very desirable that they should act together as a body, in one course or the other, but no such general arrangement could be compassed. The greater number were inclined to swear, and did so, saying that they had rather venture themselves in the hand of God than of such men as they had to do with.† Yet they still retained all

* Mr. Lockhart to James, Sept. 10. 1723. James's answer, Nov. 24. 1723.

† Lockhart's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 108.

their first principles; and the oath, however it might torture their consciences, did not influence their conduct. Such is, I fear, the inevitable result of any oath imposed by any government for its security. Examples of that kind are too common in all countries. Swearing allegiance to King George did not shut out all the Jacobites from Parliament; swearing allegiance to King Louis Philippe does not shut out all the Carlists from the Chambers. Nay more, so far may right principle be distorted by faction, that such breach of faith is not only excused but even praised by the party which it aids. The Jacobites, beyond all doubt, applauded their leader, Mr. Shippen—that worthy, public-spirited man, they probably said, who has had the courage to swear against his conscience on purpose to serve the good cause! There were, of course, numerous exceptions; but I am speaking of the general effect. And though we might reasonably infer from theory that men whom we find honourable and high-minded in private life, and in far more trifling transactions, would be scrupulously bound by the solemn and public obligation of an oath, yet experience, I apprehend, would teach the very reverse. CHAP. XII. 1722.

It was not till after these preliminaries, that a Select Committee was appointed to examine Layer and others, in relation to the plot. The Report of this Committee, drawn up by Pulteney, their chairman, and read to the House on the 1st of 1723.

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March is a very long and circumstantial document. The evidence which it gives touching Atterbury, though founded on many trifling incidents, such as the dog Harlequin, and dark hints in intercepted letters, was yet, by their combination, as I think, more than sufficient to satisfy any candid minds. The Opposition, however, did not belong to that class; they not only asserted the innocence of Atterbury, and of the rest, but maintained that the plot itself was a chimera, devised by Ministers for the basest purposes of faction. The incident of Harlequin especially was held up to ridicule. Swift, who during the last nine years had prudently kept aloof, at Dublin, from party warfare, could not resist this tempting opportunity to resume it, and poured forth one of his happiest strains of satire on the "horrid conspiracy" discovered by a French dog, who "confessed, as plain as he could bark, "then with his forefoot set his mark!"* To this conspiracy he afterwards alluded in Gulliver's Travels, as "the workmanship of persons who de-"sire to raise their own character of profound "politicians; to restore new vigour to a crazy "administration; to stifle or divert general discon-"tents; and to fill their coffers with forfeitures."† Such is party justice!

From the Report of the Committee, or the Evidence appended, it appeared that several other

* Swift's Works, vol. x. p. 462. Scott's ed.
† Ib. vol. xii. p. 244.

peers had been named in the depositions: Lords Scarsdale, Strafford, Craven, Gower, Bathurst, Bingley, and Cowper. They all took an early occasion to repel the imputation in the House of Lords. Cowper, especially, said that after having on so many occasions, and in the most difficult times, given undoubted proofs of his zeal for the Protestant succession, he had just reason to be offended to see his name bandied about in a list of a chimerical club. It was replied by Townshend, that his Lordship's name being part of an examination, there was an absolute necessity for inserting it; but that the Committee were entirely satisfied of his innocence, and that it was only surprising that a peer of so much ability and merit should thence proceed to ridicule as a fiction a well-proved conspiracy, and from one false circumstance infer that no part of it was true. It is certain that the Jacobites had some vague hopes of Lord Cowper. I have seen, in the Stuart Papers, a letter of solicitation to him from Lord Mar and another, apparently addressed by James himself.* But I found nothing whatever to show that he had accepted or even answered these overtures, and it would require strong proofs indeed to outweigh those afforded to the contrary by the whole course and tenour of his life. This is almost

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* Lord Mar's letter is dated Sept. 17. 1717. The Pretender's is endorsed "To Mr. C——r," and might be designed for Mr. Cæsar, though the contents render it less likely.

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the last public transaction in which that eminent man took part: he died the same year, on the 10th of October, of a strangury. On his death-bed he ordered that his son should never travel.* His memory deserves high respect: in him a profound knowledge of law was supported by a ready eloquence, and adorned by elegant accomplishments; and, unlike most advocates, the light which had shone at the bar was not quenched in the closer atmosphere of the senate. And though it seems that a by-word was current of "Cowper-law — to "hang a man first, and then judge him†,"—I believe that it proceeded from party resentment rather than from any real fault.

After the close of the Commons' committee, one was also appointed by the Lords; but its report did not add materially to the proofs already known. Layer had been already tried at the King's Bench, and condemned to death; he was reprieved for examination before these committees; but not disclosing as much as was hoped, he was executed at Tyburn, and his head affixed at Temple Bar. In a more lenient spirit, bills of pains and penalties were introduced against Plunkett and Kelly, subjecting them to imprisonment during pleasure, and to confiscation of their property. These bills passed both Houses by large majorities. With

* Spence's Anecdotes, p. 333.

† See vol. i. p. 296., or the evidence at Lord Wintoun's trial.

respect to the head of these subalterns, the Bishop of Rochester, a bill was brought in by Yonge (afterwards Sir William) enacting his banishment and deprivation, but without forfeiture of goods; that it should be felony to correspond with him without the King's licence; and that the King should have no power to pardon him without consent of Parliament.

The Bishop, on receiving a copy of this bill, wrote to the Speaker, requesting to have Sir Constantine Phipps and Mr. Wynne as his counsel, and Mr. Morice as his solicitor, and that they might have free access to him in private. This was granted. He next applied to the Lords, stating that as, by a standing order of their House of January 20. 1673, no Lord might appear by counsel before the other House, he was at a loss how to act, and humbly requested their direction. The Lords determined that leave should be given him to be heard by counsel or otherwise, as he might think proper; but Atterbury, who had probably only taken these steps with the view of raising difficulties, or creating a grievance to complain of, wrote a letter to the Speaker, on the very day he was expected to make his defence, to the effect that he should decline giving that House any trouble, and content himself with the opportunity, if the bill went on, of making his defence before another House, of which he had the honour to be a member.

Accordingly, the bill having passed the Com-

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mons without a division, the Bishop was brought to the bar of the House of Lords on the 6th of May. The evidence against him being first gone through, some was produced on his side. Amongst his witnesses were Erasmus Lewis, to prove, from his official experience, how easily hand-writing may be counterfeited; and Pope, to depose to the Bishop's domestic habits and literary employments. Pope had but few words to speak, and in those few we are told that he made several blunders. But those on whom Atterbury most relied were three persons who invalidated the confessions of Mr. Neynoe, as taken before his escape and death, and who alleged that Walpole had tampered with that witness. One of them (Mr. Skeene) stated that having asked Neynoe, whether, in real truth, he knew any thing of a plot, Neynoe answered, that he knew of two; one of Mr. Walpole's against some great men, the other of his own, which was only to get eighteen or twenty thousand pounds from Mr. Walpole! It should be observed, however, that of these three witnesses, one at least was of very suspicious character, having been convicted, whipt, and pilloried, at Dublin, for a treasonable libel. Their charges made it necessary for Walpole himself to appear as a witness, and disavow them. On this occasion, the Bishop used all his art to perplex the Minister and make him contradict himself, but did not succeed; "a "greater trial of skill," observes Speaker Onslow, "than scarce ever happened between two such

" combatants; the one fighting for his reputation, CHAP. XII.
" the other for his acquittal." *

Whatever vindication there may be for Jacobite principles in general, it is shocking to find a clergyman, and a prelate, swear allegiance to the King whom he was plotting to dethrone, and solemnly protest his innocence while labouring under a consciousness of guilt. The Bishop's own defence, which was spoken on the 11th of May †, begins with a touching recital of the hardships he had suffered in captivity. " By which means," he adds, " what little strength and use of my " limbs I had when committed, in August last, is " now so far impaired, that I am very unfit to " appear before your Lordships on any occasion, " especially when I am to make my defence " against a bill of so extraordinary a nature." Atterbury next enters into a masterly review, and, so far as was possible, refutation, of the evidence against him; and proceeds, in a high strain of eloquence, to ask what motives could have driven him into a conspiracy. " What could tempt me, 1723.

* Atterbury always looked upon Walpole as the prime author of his ruin. The epitaph which he wrote for himself in his exile thus concludes: —

HOC FACINORIS
CONSCIVIT, AGGRESSUS EST PERPETRAVIT
(EPISCOPORUM PRÆCIPUE SUFFRAGIIS ADJUTUS)
ROBERTUS ISTE WALPOLE
QUEM NULLA NESCIET POSTERITAS!

See his Correspondence, vol. i. p. 302.

† This Defence, as printed in the Parl. History, is mutilated and imperfect. But it is correctly given from an authentic MS. in Atterbury's Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 105—180.

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"my Lords, thus to step out my way? Was it "ambition, and a desire of climbing into a higher "station in the Church? There is not a man of "my order further removed from views of this "kind than I am. . . . Was money my aim? I "always despised it, too much, perhaps, consider- "ing the occasion I may now have for it. Out of "a poor bishoprick of 500*l.* a year, I did in eight "years' time lay out 2000*l.* upon the house and "the appurtenances; and because I knew the cir- "cumstances in which my predecessor left his "family, I took not one shilling for dilapidations; "and the rest of my income has all been spent as "that of a Bishop should be, in hospitality and "charity. . . . . Was I influenced by any dislike of "the Established Religion, any secret inclination "towards Popery, a church of greater pomp and "power? Malice has ventured even thus far to "asperse me. I have, my Lords, ever since I "knew what Popery was, disliked it; and the "better I knew it, the more I opposed it. . . . "Thirty-seven years ago I wrote in defence of "Martin Luther. . . . And whatever happens to "me, I will suffer any thing, and would, by God's "grace, burn at the stake, rather than, in any "material point, depart from the Protestant Reli- "gion, as professed in the Church of England. . . . "Once more, can I be supposed to favour arbi- "trary power? The whole tenour of my life "speaks otherwise. I was always a friend to the "liberty of the subject, and, to the best of my

" power, a constant maintainer of it. I may have
" been mistaken, perhaps, in the measures I took
" for its support at junctures when it was thought
" expedient for the state to seem to neglect public
" liberty, in order, I suppose, to secure it. . . .
" I am here, my Lords, and have been here, ex-
" pecting, for eight months, an immediate trial.
" I have, my Lords, declined no impeachment —
" no due course of law that might have been
" taken. . . . The correspondence with the Earl of
" Clarendon was made treason, but with me it is
" only felony; yet he was allowed an intercourse
" with his children by the express words of the
" Act: mine are not so much as to write, so
" much as to send any message, to me, without a
" Sign Manual! . . . The great man I mentioned
" carried a great fortune with him into a foreign
" country: he had the languages, and was well
" acquainted abroad; he had spent the best part
" of his years in exile, and was therefore every way
" qualified to support it. The reverse of all this
" is my case. Indeed, I am like him in nothing
" but his innocence and his punishment. It is in
" no man's power to make us differ in the one,
" but it is in your Lordships' power to distinguish
" us widely in the other, and I hope your Lordships
" will do it. . . . Shall I, my Lords, be deprived of
" all that is valuable to an Englishman (for, in the
" circumstances to which I am to be reduced, life
" itself is scarce valuable) by such an evidence as
" this? — such an evidence as would not be ad-

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"mitted in any other cause, or any other court, "nor allowed, I verily believe, to condemn a Jew "in the Inquisition of Spain or Portugal?"

He thus concludes; "If, after all, it shall still "be thought by your Lordships that there is any "seeming strength in the proofs produced against "me; if by private persuasions of my guilt, "founded on unseen, unknown motives; if for "any reasons or necessities of state, of which I "am no competent judge, your Lordships shall be "induced to proceed on this bill, God's will be "done! Naked came I out of my mother's womb, "and naked shall I return; and whether He "gives or takes away, blessed be the name of the "Lord!"

The Bishop having ended this most eloquent and affecting defence, and one of the counsel for the bill having replied, the Lords took their debate on the question, That this Bill do pass. The ablest speeches on the Bishop's side were the Duke of Wharton's* and Lord Cowper's; the latter not merely maintaining Atterbury's innocence, but inveighing against any parliamentary deprivation of a Bishop. "The "old champions of our Church," said he, "used to "argue very learnedly that to make or to degrade "Bishops was not the business of the state; that "there is a spiritual relation between the Bishop

* "This speech," says Dr. King, "was heard with universal "admiration, and was, indeed, not unworthy of the oldest sena-"tor, or the most able and eloquent lawyer." (Anecdotes of his own Times, p. 35.)

"and his flock, derived from the church, with "which the state has nothing to do. What the "thoughts of our reverend prelates are upon these "points does not yet fully appear; something of "their conduct intimates as if our old divines "were mistaken." In fact, most of the Bishops were now taking a forward and eager part against their brother; and one of them, (Wynne, of St. Asaph,) very little to his honour, even went so far as to volunteer evidence, which, when close pressed, he was not able to maintain. Their hostility provoked a bitter sarcasm from Lord Bathurst. Turning to their bench, he exclaimed, that he could hardly account for the inveterate malice some persons bore the learned and ingenious Bishop of Rochester, unless they were possessed with the infatuation of the wild Indians, who fondly believe they inherit not only the spoils, but even the abilities, of any great enemy they kill!

On a division, 43 Peers voted against the bill, but 83 for it; and it received the Royal Assent on the 27th of the same month.

On the whole of this transaction we may, undoubtedly, condemn the vindictive severity which oppressed Atterbury in the Tower *, and which de-

* Coxe endeavours to palliate this severity, and alleges a case where, by the connivance of the Government, Atterbury received some money from a lease of the Chapter of Westminster. But here seems some error. He quotes a document of the Chapter, dated May 31, 1723, and speaking of Atterbury as the "present

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nounced any correspondence with him when abroad; but we can scarcely consider the main clauses of the bill as otherwise than moderate. The crime Atterbury had committed was no less than high treason; and had the Ministers been men of blood, there might, I think, have been evidence sufficient (I am sure that there were voters ready) to bring him to the scaffold. His punishment was, therefore, a mitigation of that which our law imposes: nor should our admiration of genius ever betray us into an apology of guilt. But the great reproach to which his punishment is liable is as setting aside those ordinary forms, and those precious safeguards, which the law of treason enjoins — a violence of which the danger is not felt, only because the precedent has, happily, not been followed.

Atterbury received the news of his fate with fortitude and composure; in fact, he had foreseen it as inevitable. He took an affecting leave of his friends, who were now permitted to see him, especially of Pope. At their last interview Atterbury presented him with a Bible as his keepsake. "Perhaps," says Pope, with much feeling, "it is "not only in this world that I may have cause to "remember the Bishop of Rochester." * Next

"Dean." But would he be so styled at that time, the bill for his deprivation having received the Royal Assent four days before? Memoirs of Walpole, vol. i. p. 171.

* See Johnson's Life of Pope. This gift of a Bible has given rise to a most calumnious story of something which Dr. Maty said, that Lord Chesterfield said, that Pope said, that the Bishop said! Excellent evidence to accuse of deism one of our greatest

day, the 18th of June, the Bishop was embarked on board a man-of-war, without any of the tumults which the Ministers feared on that occasion; and conveyed to Calais. As he went on shore he was told that Lord Bolingbroke, having received the King's pardon, was just arrived at the same place, on his return to England. "Then I am "exchanged!" said Atterbury with a smile. "Surely," exclaims their friend at Twickenham, "this nation is afraid of being over-run with too "much politeness, and cannot regain one great "genius but at the expense of another!"* CHAP. XII. 1723.

The pardon which Bolingbroke now obtained had been for a long time pending. When he was dismissed by the Pretender, in 1716, and renounced that party for ever, he found, as he says, Lord Stair instructed, from England, to treat with him. A negotiation was accordingly opened, Bolingbroke declaring that he would never reveal any secret, nor betray any friend; but that he was ready, in future, to serve his King and country with zeal and affection; and that he never did any thing by halves. It was then that Bolingbroke took the measure of writing a private letter to Sir William Wyndham, pointing out the weakness of the Pretender's character, and the

theological writers! See this story and some decisive evidence against it quoted in the Encyclop. Brit. art. ATTERBURY. It seems quite out of place in "Pope's Character by Lord Chester-"field;" and was, I have no doubt, a fabrication surreptitiously inserted.

* Pope to Swift, 1723.

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small hopes of his cause, and urging his friend to turn his thoughts elsewhere; which letter Bolingbroke sent, unsealed, to the Postmaster-General, to be laid before the Government, and to be forwarded or not, as they thought proper.* In thus acting Bolingbroke did no injury to his friend, who was already more than suspected of Jacobite principles, and who was not at all legally endangered by receiving such advice, while the adviser served himself by this decided and acceptable token of his new-born zeal for the House of Hanover.

It was certain, as Lord Stair truly observed, that there was no man who could do so much injury to the Jacobite cause. The Ministers, therefore, were anxious to secure him†, and he had a zealous advocate in the Duchess of Kendal, to whom his purse was full of irresistible arguments. The animosity of the Whig party in general was, however, at that time, so strong as to form an almost insuperable bar to his return; and a rumour of it, in 1719, was artfully turned by Walpole into a political weapon. In his pamphlet on the Peerage Bill, speaking of Lord Oxford, he remarks, with indignation, that "his rival in guilt and "power even now presumes to expect an act of

* This letter is dated Sept. 13. 1716; and printed in Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 308., together with one from Townshend to Stanhope on the subject. The original was duly forwarded to Wyndham.

† See his letter to Lord Stanhope, November 9. 1717. Appendix, vol. i., and the Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. p. 558.

"the legislature to indemnify him, and qualify "his villany!" With such formidable opposition it seemed useless to propose so unpopular a measure; but when Walpole succeeded Stanhope and Sunderland in office, he quietly slid into this as into most of their other measures; and in May, 1723, the pardon of Bolingbroke passed the Great Seal.

This pardon, however, was only so far as the King could grant it; it secured the person of Bolingbroke, and enabled him to visit England; but it required an act of parliament to restore his forfeited estates, and his seat in the House of Peers. To obtain such an act immediately became Bolingbroke's first and most anxious object; and a large sum which he had gained in the Mississippi speculations, afforded him fresh means to convince the Duchess of Kendal of the justice of his claims. His second object, during all this time, was to persuade his friends that he was nearly indifferent to his restoration, and quite happy in exile and in literary leisure. While his life was full of nothing but intrigue, his private letters are full of nothing but philosophy. "Some "superfluous twigs are every day cut, and, as they "lessen in number, the bough which bears the "golden fruit of friendship shoots, swells, and "spreads." .... "Those insects, of various hues, "which used to hum and buzz about me while I "stood in the sunshine, have disappeared since I

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"lived in the shade."* Great but ill-regulated genius! Cicero could not write better, — Clodius could not act worse!

When the fallen minister arrived in England, he found that the King had already sailed for Germany, attended by Lords Townshend and Carteret, and the Duchess of Kendal, and was not expected to return for some time; in fact, his Majesty extended his absence to six months, and his journey to Berlin, on a visit to his son-in-law, the King of Prussia.† Bolingbroke, therefore, could only write letters of thanks to the King, to the Duchess, and to Townshend, entreating, at the same time, their further favour; but he availed himself of his stay in England to renew his political connections, especially with his tried friends, Sir William Wyndham and Lord Harcourt. The former still stood at the head of the Tories in the House of Commons; the latter, who had filled the office of Chancellor in the last years of Anne, was by no means as steady in his public course. Even at that time Swift had called him "trimming Harcourt‡; but now he had entirely left his party, and risen so high in ministerial favour, as to be created a Viscount, gratified with a

* Letters to Swift, 1721, 1723.

† Of the King's journey, Swift writes with much humour. "The next packet will bring us word of the King and Bishop of "Rochester leaving England. A good journey to the one, and "a speedy return to the other, is an honest Whig wish!" (To Mr. Cope, June 1. 1723.) The King's visit to Berlin is described in the Mém. de Bareith, vol. i. pp. 84—87.

‡ Swift's Works, vol. x. p. 398.

pension, and appointed one of the Lords Justices at the King's departure. Thus it had been in Harcourt's power greatly to promote the pardon of his friend, in May last, and he deserved gratitude, both in the true sense of that word, and in that which Bolingbroke gives it, where he says, in one of his letters, that "what we call gratitude is ge-"nerally expectation."* CHAP. XII. 1723.

Bolingbroke also waited on Walpole, and, alluding to Harcourt's accession, told him that Wyndham, Lord Bathurst, and Lord Gower, were beginning to be disgusted with a fruitless opposition. They had, he said, been for some time in communication with Lord Carteret; but now thought themselves deceived by him, and might probably be brought into the measures of the Court, and into a support of Townshend and Walpole. Nothing could have been more advantageous to the country than such a junction: it would have healed many wounds of faction, and broken one great lever of the Jacobites; but it might also have endangered the supremacy of Walpole, and given a strong claim to Bolingbroke. Walpole, therefore, with whom his own power was always the paramount consideration, received these overtures most coldly and ungraciously, and met them with a positive refusal; adding, that as Bolingbroke's restoration depended on a Whig parliament, he ought, in prudence, to shun any fresh

* To Sir William Wyndham, January 5. 1736.

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connection with Tories; and that the Ministers would not hazard the King's affairs by proposing this restoration rashly.*

Bolingbroke, seeing that no impression was to be made in this quarter, seemed to acquiesce in the Minister's reasoning, and left England for Aix-la-Chapelle, in hopes, from thence, to pay a visit at Hanover. But not obtaining the desired permission he returned to Paris, where a new field was opening to his ambition and abilities. Cardinal Dubois had died in August, and was followed by his patron, the Duke of Orleans, in less than four months. The young King having nominally come of age, no other Regent was appointed; but the new prime minister was the Duke de Bourbon, a weak man, chiefly governed by an aspiring mistress, Madame de Prie. Over this prince, and over this lady, Bolingbroke had great influence; "for these "many years," says he, "I have been honoured "with his friendship."† and his own marriage with the Marquise de Villette, a niece of Madame de Maintenon, was another link of his close connection with the Court of France. There was no variation in the foreign policy of that Court; the scene had not shifted, though the actors were changed. But a struggle for power was now going on in the English cabinet between Lords Townshend and Carteret; and that struggle, as

* Walpole to Townshend, July 23. 1723.

† To Lord Harcourt, December 28. 1723.

will presently be seen, was brought to issue on French ground, where Bolingbroke had both the means and the inclination to take an active part.

The new Secretary of State, John Lord Carteret, (afterwards, on the death of his mother, Earl Granville,) was born in 1690. No one ever combined, in a more eminent degree, the learning of a scholar with the talents of a statesman. The ancient languages he had deeply studied; of the modern, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, and Swedish, were equally familiar to him. Mr. Harte, in a preface to his "Gustavus Adolphus," after Granville's death, and, therefore, without any interested adulation, celebrates his knowledge of Chemnitz and other recondite writers; and observes, that "he understood the German and "Swedish histories to the highest perfection." He might have lectured upon public law. He might have taken his seat in a synod, and taught the Canonists. Yet in public life no rust of pedantry ever dimmed his keen and brilliant intellect. In debate, his eloquence was always ready, always warm, and has even been blamed for the profusion of ideas which crowded from him. In council, men of letters are, in general, bewildered by too nice a balance of opposite advantages: Carteret, on the contrary, was always daring and decisive. Most remarkable testimonies to his ability might be gathered from the writings even of his strongest political opponents. Chester-

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field was his enemy; yet Chesterfield writes to his son, "They say Lord Granville is dying. "When he dies, the ablest head in England dies "too, take it for all in all." * Horace Walpole was his enemy; yet when Walpole weighs him in the balance with his own father, with Mansfield, and with Chatham, he declares that none of them had the genius of Granville.†

Yet with all this, Carteret neither fills, nor deserves to fill any very high niche in the Temple of Fame. There was a want of consistency, not in his principles, but in his efforts and exertions. He would be all fire to-day, all ice to-morrow. He was ready to attempt any thing, but frequently grew weary of his own projects, and seldom took sufficient means to secure their accomplishment. Ambition generally ruled him, but the mastery was often disputed by wine. Two daily bottles of Burgundy made him happy in himself, and independent of state affairs. Seldom granting a kindness, and as seldom resenting an injury, he was incapable both of firm friendship and settled animosity—not above revenge, but below it. At the most critical period of his life, when, on the fall of Walpole, he had become chief Minister, and was driven from office by a combination formed partly of his own pretended friends, even then, says a contemporary, he showed no anger nor resentment,

* Letter, December 13. 1762.

† Memoirs of George the Second, vol. ii. p. 272.

nor, indeed, any feeling except thirst.* A careless, lolling, laughing love of self; a sort of epicurean ease, roused to action by starts and bounds—such was his real character. For such a man to be esteemed really great, he must die early! He may dazzle as he passes, but cannot bear a close and continued gaze.

Carteret had come forth in public life under the guidance of Stanhope and Sunderland. The former made him Ambassador to Sweden in 1719, the latter, Secretary of State on the death of Craggs. For the memory of both these statesmen he always expressed the highest veneration and attachment, and he considered himself as representing them and their principles in the Cabinet. Like them, he thought, that as time proceeded, the basis of administration might be enlarged, and some moderate Tories brought over to join it. Like them, he maintained, that to shut out all Tories and high Churchmen from employment, had been, at the King's accession, a measure of necessity, but should not be continued ever afterwards from choice. With the King he had ingratiated himself by his German studies, being the only one of his Ministers who could converse with him in that language. It is very strange, I may observe in passing, that though under the two first Georges a knowledge of German was almost a sure road to Royal favour†, it seems to have been much less

* Walpole to Mann, March 4. 1745.

† "German will, I fear, always be a useful language for an

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cultivated, than it is from literary motives at the present day. In foreign affairs Carteret had succeeded to the great influence of Stanhope over the Court of the Palais Royal.* He confirmed it by immediately appointing Sir Luke Schaub Minister at Paris, as the former and the most friendly channel of communication with Dubois. In fact it was through Dubois that England for six years drew France into a close concert of measures: in return, the Abbé, it has been said, but never shown, received a yearly pension from the English Government; and at all events it is certain, that it was partly at the application, and with the aid of George and his Ministers, that Dubois obtained first an Archbishop's mitre, and then a Cardinal's hat.†

Carteret and Walpole could not long continue to agree. Walpole was aiming at a monopoly of power; Carteret was determined to hold fast a share of it. The one expected to find a dependent and not a colleague; the other, a superior and not a master. In this contest Carteret was backed (but very cautiously, and so as not to commit themselves) by Lord Carleton, Privy Seal, by

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"Englishman to know." Lord Chesterfield to Mr. Dayrolles, Sept. 15. 1752.

* Dubois transferred his devotion to Carteret, as the minister "who was supported by Sunderland, and who boasted, that he "had succeeded to the influence, as well as to the principles, of "Stanhope..... The friendship of Dubois increased the consequence of Carteret." (Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 179.)

† See the Mémoires de Duclos, vol. ii. p. 81., and the letter of Stanhope in the Mém. Sécrets de Sevelinges, vol. i. p. 275. Sevelinges throws great doubt on the story of the pension from England. (p. 16.)

the Duke of Roxburgh, Secretary for Scotland, and by Lord Cadogan, who had succeeded Marlborough as Commander in Chief; while, on the other hand, Townshend and all the other ministers were firmly linked to Walpole, and mainly guided by him. The Hanoverian courtiers and favourites were in like manner split in two sections. The Duchess of Kendal, who had a strong liking for the most powerful party, and a happy instinct in discerning it, sided with Walpole and Townshend, as she had before with Stanhope and Sunderland, and the brother ministers always speak of her in their letters as their firm friend and the "good Duchess." On his part, Carteret had secured the Countess of Darlington, and her sister Madame de Platen. And thus the struggle for the Royal confidence on this occasion turned, perhaps, on the attractions of ladies, rather than on the merits of statesmen.

It has also been alleged, that at Hanover Carteret endeavoured to strengthen his interest by promoting the King's German measures, which Townshend, more patriotically, withstood. Yet this does not seem very consistent with the charge shortly afterwards made on precisely the same authority against Townshend himself, as wholly Hanoverian. "Han-" over is Lord Townshend's great merit," says the Duke of Newcastle.* "He endeavours to make all "measures Electoral," says old Horace Walpole.†

* To Lord Harrington, April 23. 1730.

† To Mr. Poyntz, January 21. 1730.

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Such was the state of things when the two Secretaries of State attended the King to Hanover, and when the pending contest came to an issue between them. At that time a marriage had been proposed between a daughter of Madame de Platen and the Count St. Florentin, son of La Vrillière, French secretary of state; but the Countess required, as a condition, that a dukedom should be granted to La Vrillière. This dukedom immediately became an object of eager interest with George the First, and Carteret instructed Sir Luke Schaub to make every exertion to obtain it from the Duke of Orleans. We should observe that this affair belonged to Carteret, as secretary for the southern department, in which France was comprised, and that the other secretary had no claim to interlope in his province. Nevertheless, Lord Townshend, unwilling to see an affair of so much interest in the hands of a rival, determined, if possible, to draw it from his management. With this view, and at the instigation of Walpole, he despatched his brother Horace to Paris, under the pretence of settling the accession of Portugal to the Quadruple Alliance, but in reality to watch the movements and counteract the influence of Schaub.

In the midst of these cabals, suddenly died the Duke of Orleans, and it was then that Bolingbroke came into play. He perceived that the party of Walpole and Townshend was much the stronger, and would finally prevail; and he determined to pay court to them rather than to Carteret.

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Accordingly he hastened to greet Horace Walpole with many friendly assurances and much useful information; and exerted his influence with the Duke de Bourbon for his service. Nay more, he threw into his hands one or two very favourable opportunities for pushing his pretensions by himself. But Horace Walpole, who had a rooted aversion to Bolingbroke, received all his overtures very much at arm's length, and wished to accept his intelligence without either trust or requital. As he writes to his brother: "I have made a good "use of my Lord Bolingbroke's information, with- "out having given him any handle to be the ne- "gotiator of his Majesty's affairs." * "This," says Bolingbroke, "I freely own, I took a little un- "kindly, because I have acted a part which de- "serves confidence, not suspicion."† But whatever might be the resentment of Bolingbroke he was compelled to smother it: his restoration was entirely in the power and at the mercy of the English Ministers, and to obtain it, he could only continue his painful submission and unavailing services. 1723.

With respect to the affair itself of the dukedom, neither Schaub nor Walpole could prevail. The French nobility considered the family of La Vrillière as not entitled to this distinction, and raised so loud a cry at the rumour of it, as to 1724.

* Horace, to Robert Walpole, Dec. 15. 1723. Coxe's Life of Horace Lord Walpole.

† To Lord Harcourt, January 12. 1724.

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render its execution almost impracticable. Ultimately, Madame de Platen, being pacified by a portion of 10,000*l.* from King George, and no longer thinking a dukedom indispensable to a husband, allowed the marriage to take place without the required promotion. But a total breach had meanwhile ensued between the two English negotiators. "It is impossible," writes Horace Walpole, "for the King's interest to be carried on "here, so long as Sir Luke Schaub and I are to "act jointly together." * Thus it became necessary for the King to choose between Schaub and Horace Walpole; in other words, between their patrons — Carteret and Townshend. With little hesitation, the King decided for the latter; Schaub was recalled, and Horace Walpole received credentials as ambassador to Paris. Nay more, Townshend obtained the dismission of his rival with the same honours which had formerly smoothed his own. The Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland was bestowed upon Carteret: his office of Secretary of State was transferred to the Duke of Newcastle, and the ascendency of the brother ministers became wholly uncontrolled. Cadogan and Roxburgh bent down lowly before the storm, and it passed them over; and Carteret himself bore his defeat with great frankness and good humour. He owned that he considered himself very ill used, especially when

* To Lord Townshend, March 22. 1724. Coxe's Life of Horace Lord Walpole.

Horace Walpole had been sent to interlope in his department, but declared that he should be much happier as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland than as a Secretary of State, thwarted in all his measures and stripped of his proper authority; and at the same time he professed his intentions to promote the King's service, and still to continue on good terms with the Ministers.

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WHEN Carteret was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that kingdom was by no means in a state of tranquillity. A slight spark had by the talents of Swift been blown into a formidable flame, and a project, beyond all doubt beneficial to the nation, was ingeniously and successfully held forth to them as the greatest of grievances.

There had for some time been felt in Ireland a great deficiency of copper coin; this had gone so far that several gentlemen were forced to use tallies with their workmen, and give them pieces of card, sealed and signed with their names. To supply this deficiency, several proposals had been submitted to the Government in England, and one accepted from Mr. William Wood, a considerable proprietor and renter of iron works.* The scheme was first designed under Sunderland, but not matured till Walpole was at the head of the Treasury. A patent was then granted to Wood for coining farthings and halfpence to the value of

* Macpherson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 114.

108,000*l.* This patent was directed by Walpole with his usual financial skill; at every step in passing it he consulted Sir Isaac Newton, as Master of the Mint; he took the advice of the Attorney and Solicitor General, and employed the utmost care to guard against any fraud or exorbitant profit. And when, on the first apprehension of troubles on this subject, a new assay was ordered at the Mint, the principal officers, with Sir Isaac as their chief, reported, that the coins in weight, goodness, and fineness, so far from falling short, even exceeded the conditions of the contract. It was requisite, on account of the difference of exchange between the two countries, that these farthings and halfpence should be a little less in weight than those current in England, "which," says Walpole, "was considered at the time of "passing the patent, and found to be necessary;" and he gives reasons that, as he truly adds, "sufficiently justify the difference of the weight of "the two coins, when at the same time it is admitted on all hands, that the Irish coin in fineness of metal exceeds the English. As to the "King's prerogative of granting such patents, it is "one never disputed, and often exercised." * CHAP. XIII. 1724.

So clear and well conducted a transaction seemed by no means favourable for the creation of a grievance, even with a people so expert in that kind of manufacture. Almost the only blamable part in the business does not appear to have been

* Letters to Lord Townshend, Oct. 1. and 18. 1723.

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suspected, till the ferment against it had risen to some height; namely, a bribe which Wood had agreed to pay to the Duchess of Kendal for her influence in passing the patent. But this, however scandalous in the parties concerned, could not materially affect the quantity or quality of coin to be issued, or still less the want of such a supply for purposes of trade in Ireland.

The affair, however, from various causes, took an unprosperous turn. The Irish Privy Council had not been previously consulted, and was nettled at this neglect; nor did the Irish courtiers approve of any jobs except their own. Amongst the people, the patent at first was not clearly explained, and when explained it was already unpopular. Wood was disliked, as an utter stranger to the country; he was besides a vain, imprudent man, bragging of his influence with Walpole, and threatening that he "would cram his halfpence down the throats of "the Irish." To rail at all opposition, as Popery and treason, was not the way to disarm it. Nor did the Irish Government meet the first difficulties with promptness and energy. The Duke of Grafton, Lord Lieutenant, was a person of very moderate abilities, well described by Walpole as "a fair weather pilot, that knew not what he had "to do when the first storm arose." * The Lord Chancellor (Alan Brodrick, Viscount Midleton) was an open enemy of Grafton, and a secret one of

* Walpole to Townshend, Oct. 26. 1723.

Walpole: he had talents, but so high an opinion of them, that he always thought himself neglected and ill used; and though he could not venture to take part himself against the Court, yet his son, his secretary, his purse-bearer, and other dependents, did so publicly and warmly. CHAP. XIII. 1724.

Through these causes, an impulse was given that soon became general, and spread from low to high. The Irish Parliament met full of resentment, and decided with headlong haste. Both Houses passed addresses to the King, declaring that the execution of Wood's patent would be prejudicial to the revenue, and destructive of trade; that the terms of the patent had not been complied with, and that if even they had, there would have been a loss to the nation of 150 per cent.! So monstrous an exaggeration has scarcely ever yet been hazarded in any public document—at least not out of Spain! These addresses were first transmitted to Walpole, and in sending them to Townshend at Hanover, he declares himself astonished, that any assembly should have come into resolutions that are all false in fact; "and, indeed," he adds, "I was a good deal concerned till I saw "what they did object, lest by inadvertency, or "by being imposed upon, we might, out of a de- "sire of doing the service, have let this slip "through our fingers, liable to more objections "than I was aware of. But most certainly it is "not so. The resolution that makes the loss 150 "per cent. is founded upon a computation that

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"copper uncoined is worth 12*d.* a pound; now a "pound of copper halfpence and farthings are by "the patent to pass for 2*s.* 6*d.*; therefore the loss "is 1*s.* 6*d.* But a pound of copper prepared for the "mint in London costs there 1*s.* 6*d.*; the charge of "coining a pound of copper is at the Mint 4*d.*; and "I think the duty of a pound of copper coined, "imported into Ireland, is a halfpenny per pound, "besides the exchange, and which, with all allow-"ances, comes to 20 per cent., and all this is laid "aside, and the copper money valued at the sup-"posed value of the rough Irish copper, which is "much inferior to English copper."*

The King's answer to the Irish addresses was, as Walpole advised it, mild and conciliatory: he expressed his concern that his granting a patent according to the practice of his Royal Predecessors, had given so much uneasiness, and if there had been any abuses committed by the patentee, he would give orders for inquiring into and punishing them. Accordingly the affair was referred to a Committee of the Privy Council in England, which after a most searching inquiry, and the examination of numerous witnesses, published their Report in July, 1724. In this Report they justified, in the clearest and most unquestionable manner, both the terms of the patent and the conduct of the patentee. At the same time, however, Mr. Wood declared himself willing to yield to the clamour

* To Lord Townshend, Oct. 1. 1723.

against his coinage, so far as to reduce it from 108,000*l.* to 40,000*l.* value; and to propose that no more than 5½*d.* of it should be given at any one payment. This the Government accepted, and sent directions to Ireland that the halfpence might be allowed currency to the reduced amount. 1724.

Such fair concessions, and such unanswerable arguments, might probably have prevailed, had not the mighty mind of Swift arrayed itself against them. For ten years had that aspiring spirit pined in obscurity and oblivion: he now seized the opportunity to exert and display his powers. From the simple transaction before him, he drew a frightful picture of fraud, oppression, and impending misery. Public ruin was foretold, and public vengeance threatened in a hundred shapes.* Songs, ballads, and lampoons, flew about the streets. A more serious attack was made in letters, which appeared from time to time under the assumed name of M. B. a Drapier of Dublin. Of these letters Mr. Hawkins Browne used to say, that they were the most perfect pieces of oratory composed since the days of Demosthenes †; and though far from assenting to such extravagant panegyric, we

* As for instance:—

"The halfpence are coming, the nation's undoing;
"There 's an end of your ploughing, and baking, and brewing;
"In short, you must all go to rack and to ruin!"

Swift's Works, vol. x. p. 478. One poem proposes to scald Wood in his own melted copper; another prefers "the drop at "Kilmainham."

† Sheridan's Life of Swift, p. 241. ed. 1784.

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can scarcely deny them a very high degree of admiration. They are written with so much art, as entirely to conceal the appearance of art. The author speaks of himself as a "poor ignorant "shopkeeper utterly unskilled in law;" he appears throughout a quiet man startled from his station by the common danger,—"as when," he says, "a house is attempted to be robbed, it often "happens the weakest in the family runs first to "stop the door." The style is plain and simple; the deductions easy and suited to the understandings of all; and the strokes of satire with which it abounds are the more pungent, as seeming not to be designed. So far from leaving any handle to be called a party man, he always refers with much respect to the Ministers, and with no less loyalty to the King, "for we never had one more gra- "cious." The stubborn facts against him are moulded with the highest skill; he attempts to prove, or (what is quite as effectual when a ferment is once raised) he assumes as proved, that the patent itself is iniquitous; that, moreover, its terms have been grossly violated by the patentee; that the halfpence are six parts out of seven base; that Wood will hereafter be able "to buy all our "goods for eleven parts in twelve under the "value." Wood himself from a proprietor of iron works becomes a hardware-man and tinker! His copper is turned into brass! The people are told that they will soon have no meat to feed them, unless they can eat brass as ostriches do iron!

"If Mr. Wood's project should take, it would ruin "even our beggars! Do you think I will sell you "a yard of tenpenny stuff for twenty of Mr. "Wood's halfpence? No, not under two hundred, "at least; neither will I be at the trouble of count- "ing, but weigh them in a lump."

Even so clear a proof as the public assay at the Mint is called impudent and insupportable.—"If I "were to buy a hundred sheep, and the grazier "should bring me one single wether fat and well "fleeced, by way of pattern, and expect the same "price round for the whole hundred, even for those "that were lean, or shorn, or scabby, I would be "none of his customer. I have heard of a man who "had a mind to sell his house, and therefore carried "a piece of brick in his pocket, which he showed "as a pattern, to encourage purchasers; and this "is directly the case in point with Mr. Wood's "assay." *.

It is to be observed that the Government had not used any compulsion with respect to this coin; their orders were only to allow it currency with those who might be willing to receive it. Yet the Drapier takes care to drop an insinuation of force: "I hope the words voluntary and willing to re- "ceive it will be understood and applied in their "true natural meaning, as commonly understood "by Protestants: for, if a fierce Captain comes

* Walpole to Townshend, October 26. 1723.

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"to my shop to buy six yards of scarlet cloth, "followed by a porter laden with a sack of Wood's "coin upon his shoulders; if we are agreed upon "the price, and my scarlet lies ready cut upon the "counter; if he then gives me the word of com- "mand to receive my money in Wood's coin, and "calls me a disaffected Jacobite dog for refusing "it (though I am as loyal a subject as himself, "and without hire), and thereupon seizes my cloth, "leaving me the price in this odious copper, and "bids me take my remedy; in this case, I shall "hardly be brought to think that I am left to my "own will. . . . It is probable that the first willing "receivers will be those who must receive it, "whether they will or not, under the penalty of "losing an office."

This loyal subject is also full of apprehensions lest the King's ministers should "advise him to "take his revenues here, which are near 400,000*l.* "a year, in Wood's brass, which will reduce their "value to 50,000*l.*" How it was possible that 400,000*l.* should be sent over in copper, which was only to be coined to the value of 40,000*l.*, Swift does not explain, nor did his Irish readers inquire. All ranks caught the alarm; all distinctions of party were hushed; and the nation became united as one man. The Drapier, whose real author was soon whispered, was hailed as the Public Deliverer; and, according to the advice contained in one of the Letters, a Declaration was published, signed by many persons of station and

property, denouncing Wood's coin, and warning their tenants not to take it. CHAP. XIII. 1724.

It was in the midst of this storm that the new Viceroy, Lord Carteret, landed in October. He had instructions to use strong measures, if needful, to assert the authority of Government; and he wanted neither skill nor spirit to perform them. Perceiving that the Drapier's Letters were the main root of the evil, he issued a proclamation against the last; offered a reward of 300*l.* for discovering the author; and caused Harding, the printer, to be apprehended. But the grand jury who were required to find a bill against Harding, unanimously threw it out, and were discharged by Chief Justice Whitshed with much passion. A popular lampoon was immediately levelled at the Chief Justice from the same invisible and powerful hand.* The agitation increased; and the next grand jury, so far from finding a bill against Harding, made a presentment against all persons who should, by fraud or otherwise, impose Wood's half-pence upon the people — a presentment which, it appears, had been drawn up by Swift himself.

Such a spirit as now appeared in Ireland could neither be broken by force, nor melted by persuasion. After several attempts, and many consult-

* This lampoon turned upon his motto —

" *Libertas et natale solum.*
" Fine words! I wonder where you stole'em!
" Would nothing but your chief reproach
" Serve as a motto on your coach?" &c.

Swift's Works, vol. x. p. 467.

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ations, Carteret informed the Government that the affair was desperate, and that further perseverance could end only in rebellion and confusion. The Ministers, however reluctant to compromise the King's authority, had no alternative, and yielded the point by withdrawing the patent, while at the same time the resignation of Lord Midleton was accepted, and a pension of 3000*l.* granted to Wood, in compensation for his loss.

Several modern writers, astonished at the overwhelming and irrational outcry against a beneficial project, have devised another motive to explain it, and suppose that Wood's patent was only the pretext; a peg on which to hang the question of the independence and equality of Ireland. But such a supposition is by no means consistent with the contemporary records. There can be no doubt that Wood's patent was considered a real and enormous grievance in itself; and the question of equality was merely brought on to point a period or to swell a complaint, or rather was provoked by a foolish sally of Wood, implying that Ireland was only a "dependent "kingdom." Thus the question came on incidentally; and, when once raised, was keenly discussed. Certainly the cause of liberty in Ireland was promoted, in after years, by the stand successfully made on this occasion; but as it appears to me, there is no evidence to show that this cause was either the original, or at any time the principal, motive with the opponents of Wood.

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The sequel is, however, highly honourable to the warm-hearted and generous Irish. Believing, however erroneously, that Swift had delivered them from a great public danger, their gratitude to him knew no bounds, nor ended even with his powers of mind. "The sun of his popularity," says a great poet, "remained unclouded, even "after he was incapable of distinguishing its radi- "ance."* The Drapier's Head became a favourite sign; his portrait, we are told, was engraved, woven upon handkerchiefs, and struck upon medals (not of copper I presume). His health was quaffed at every banquet, his presence every where welcomed with blessings by the people. They bore with all the infirmities of genius, all the peevishness of age. In vain did he show contempt and aversion to those who thus revered him: in vain did he deny them even the honour of his birth-place, frequently saying, "I was not dropped in this vile country, but in "England." In vain did he sneer at the "savage "old Irish." No insult on his part could weaken their generous attachment. Even at this day, as I am assured, this grateful feeling still survives; and all parties in Ireland, however estranged on other questions, agree in one common veneration for the memory of SWIFT.

Scarcely were the disturbances in Ireland appeased, before others broke out among the Scots. I have elsewhere mentioned the great unwillingness of that nation to bear their proportion of the

* Sir Walter Scott's Life of Swift, p. 304.

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Malt Tax, and the violent motion to which they had recourse in 1713.* Since that time they had contrived, under various pretences, to evade payment of the duty, to the great envy and indignation of the English country gentlemen; until in 1724, the subject was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Brodrick, who proposed that, instead of the duty on Malt in Scotland, there should be paid a duty of sixpence on every barrel of ale.† Walpole was by no means inclined to stir this agitating question; but finding the sense of the House against him, he acquiesced, taking care, however, to reduce the duty to three pence, or one half of what Brodrick proposed. The money, it is said, was wanted partly to defray an allowance of ten guineas weekly, which Walpole used to give to every Scotch member during the Session, in order, as was alleged, to support the charge of their residence in London. These Scotch members were now told by Walpole, when they waited upon him, that they must find or acquiesce in some mode to make up this expense from the Scotch revenue; or else, as he expressed it, they must in future "tie up their stockings with their own "garters!"‡

But though the Scotch members might have excellent reasons for yielding to this impost,

* See vol. i. p. 54.

† Commons' Journals, vol. xx. pp. 359. 374.

‡ Lockhart's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 141., and Sir Walter Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, third series, vol. ii. p. 150.

the Scotch people unhappily had none; and its result was a general irritation throughout the country, and a serious riot at Glasgow. The mob assembled in large numbers, shouting "Down "with Walpole," and "Up with Seaforth!" they broke open and plundered the house of Mr. Campbell, of Shawfield, member for the City*; and his cellar being unfortunately well-stocked, added fresh incitement to their fury. Two companies of foot, under Captain Bushell, had been sent from Edinburgh at the first apprehension of a tumult; these were now surrounded by the mob and fiercely assailed with stones and other missiles, until the soldiers being compelled in self-defence to fire, killed nine persons, and wounded many more. Nevertheless, the mob seemed exasperated rather than dismayed; and Captain Bushell was compelled to retire to Dumbarton Castle, still pursued, and pelted by the rabble during a part of the way. CHAP. XIII. 1724.

Under these circumstances, the Commander-in-Chief for Scotland, General Wade, seeing the necessity of prompt measures, marched to Glasgow with so large a force as to disarm all opposition. Not content with seizing some of the rioters, he apprehended the chief magistrates, and sent them prisoners to Edinburgh, under the charge, certainly

* "Had Mr. Campbell himself been in town," says Lockhart, "they had certainly *Dewitted* him." (Mem. vol. ii. p. 162.) He coins this new term from the savage murder of the two De Witts by the mob in Holland. Thank God! we have no such English word!

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well-founded, of either timidly or treacherously conniving at the riots. But, being brought before the Lords Justiciary, they were declared innocent, and set at liberty*; and this acquittal, being considered a victory over Government, revived the zeal of the people. A combination was formed amongst the brewers at Edinburgh, engaging not to give security for the new duty, nor to brew if the duty were demanded.

The Duke of Roxburgh was at this time Secretary of State for Scotland; he had been attached to Carteret, and was accused by Walpole of fomenting these disturbances.† Whether this was really the case, or whether Walpole merely seized the opportunity to acquire a more supple colleague, the Minister now obtained not merely the dismissal of Roxburgh, but the abolition of the office of Secretary for Scotland. Henceforth he centred the power of that department in his own hands; deputing, however, no small share of it to his devoted follower the Earl of Isla. It was Isla who on the fall of Roxburgh was despatched to Edinburgh, with the view of allaying the storm: he came armed with full powers from Government, and with no small prudence of his own. So firm, yet so skilful were his measures, that the threatening combination of brewers was speedily dissolved. They at first attempted to make terms; but being told that none would be accepted but

* Culloden Papers, pp. 86—98.

† Walpole to Townshend, August 17. 1725.

an immediate return to their duty, "various "opinions" (I quote the words of Walpole) "began to arise among themselves in their as- "sembly, and at last they unanimously agreed to "be determined by a question:—Brew or not. "Which being put by the chairman, he began "to take their votes, SERIATIM, at the right "hand; but his right-hand man thought it a "hardship upon him to be obliged to speak first, "his left-hand man thought so too, and they could "get nobody to give his vote first. At last, one "Gray declared he thought they had nothing now "left to do, but to return to their trades; that he "would not be bound by the majority, but began "the vote, and voted BREW! He was immediately "followed by another, upon which two warm ones "hoped they would hold out till their brethren "were set at liberty; but those not being sup- "ported, the assembly broke up, and such of them "as had their things in readiness fell to brewing "that night; and next day, at noon, above forty "brewhouses were hard at work in Edinburgh, "and ten more at Leith." * It is probable that the argument which had most weight with the brewers, was that, after all, the ultimate loss must fall not on them but on the public. This happy termination is mentioned by Walpole, with much satisfaction and high praises of Lord Isla: he adds, "I think we have once more got Ireland

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* To Lord Townshend, Sept. 3. 1725.

CHAP. XIII. "and Scotland quiet, if we take care to keep "them so."

1724. The Session of Parliament, which began in November, 1724, was distinguished by three important transactions — the impeachment of the Lord Chancellor, — the partial restoration of Lord Bolingbroke, — and the first public breach between Walpole and Pulteney.

Enormous abuses had crept into the Court of Chancery: the offices of Masters were set up to sale; and the buyers, in consequence, attempted to turn them to their own advantage. The price of these offices having latterly been augmented, the extortion of the holders grew in the same proportion. The suitors' money, the estates of widows and orphans, became a source of private peculation; and the public voice was loud against the Chancellor, Parker, Earl of Macclesfield. In January, he resigned the Great Seal, but did not thereby escape the national resentment. His impeachment was moved in the House of Commons by Sir George Oxenden; his trial took place at the bar of the House of Lords, and continued twenty days. He was unanimously found guilty, and sentenced to a fine of 30,000*l.*; a motion to disable him from sitting in Parliament, or holding any future office, being, moreover, very nearly carried. His Majesty struck off his name from the List of Privy Counsellors, and Sir Peter King, now created Lord King, was appointed Chancellor in his place. The unanimity of his judges might seem decisive as to his guilt; yet

it may perhaps be doubted, whether they did not unjustly heap the faults of the system on one man; whether Parker had not rather, in fact, failed to check gradual and growing abuses, than introduced them by his authority or encouraged them by his example. CHAP. XIII. 1725.

Lord Bolingbroke was still at Paris. "Tired," as he says, "with suspense, the only insupportable "misfortune of life, and with nine years of au- "tumnal promises and vernal excuses *," he had, early in 1724, another painful subject of embarrassment in the villany of a banker. His wife, Madame de Villette, had invested 50,000*l.* in the English funds through the hands of Sir Matthew Decker, who now pretended to make a discovery of it to the government as a forfeiture, upon proving her married to Lord Bolingbroke. This brought the lady to England under the name of Villette, and ready, if required, to deny her marriage; and Lord Townshend, who abhorred all dishonesty, and considered Decker's reasons "very bad "ones," gave her his zealous and successful aid. † But she also seized the opportunity to ingratiate herself at Court, and obtain Bolingbroke's long-desired restoration. The King was by no means fascinated with her; he declared that she talked too much, and without respect ‡; but a well-timed present of 11,000*l.* to the Duchess

* To Swift, July 24. 1725.

† Lord Townshend to Horace Walpole, April 2. 1724.

‡ "Elle parle trop et sans respect." (Lord Lansdowne to James, July 10. 1724. Appendix.) He adds, "You can tell,

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of Kendal smoothed many difficulties. A complete restoration was now earnestly and positively pressed upon Walpole by the Court. Walpole, seeing the unpopularity of the measure among his own friends, and afraid of Bolingbroke's future ascendancy, for a long time refused, and made every opposition in his power; but at length, being threatened with dismissal, compromised matters by agreeing to a restoration in fortune, though not in peerage. Bolingbroke, on his part, thought it best to take what he could, if not what he would; but as might be expected, he never forgot or forgave the resistance of the Minister. "Here I am, then," he writes to Swift, "two-thirds restored; my person safe, and my "estate, with all the other property I have acquired, "or may acquire, secured to me. But the attainder "is kept carefully and prudently in force, lest so "corrupt a member should come again into the "House of Lords, and his bad leaven should sour "that sweet untainted mass."*

Even this partial restoration, however, could not pass Parliament without some resistance from two opposite quarters—the staunch Whigs and the de-

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"Sir, whether that is a just character; she is your old acquaint-"ance."

* Coxe states this erroneously in his Memoirs of Walpole; he speaks of Bolingbroke's obligations to Walpole, his want of gratitude, &c. But in his life of Horace Lord Walpole (p. 70.), he admits his mistake, observing, that papers have since fallen under his notice, proving the vehement opposition of Walpole to the restoration, and accounting for the bitter and well-founded enmity of Bolingbroke.

cided Jacobites. When the bill was brought in by Lord Finch, seconded by Walpole, Methuen, though filling an office in the Household, warmly opposed it, declaring, that the crimes of Bolingbroke were so heinous and flagrant as not to admit of any expiation or atonement. He was backed by Lord William Powlett, by Onslow (afterwards Speaker), and by several other usual friends of government. In like manner was the Tory camp divided; several, such as Lord Bathurst and Sir William Wyndham, were personal friends of Bolingbroke, and eager to promote his interests; while others, recollecting how ill the Pretender had used him, and how great must be his resentment, thought it necessary (as is too commonly the case), because one injury had been inflicted to inflict another, and to thwart his restoration as much as possible. The Duke of Wharton, who at this period frequently appears in the Stuart Papers as foremost amongst James's correspondents, relates a curious conversation which he had upon the subject with Lord Bathurst. Having pressed him to give no aid to Bolingbroke, and urged the wish of the Pretender, Bathurst demurred, and at last said that he had not yet learnt JURARE IN VERBA MAGISTRI, to which Wharton only answered JURAVI, and left him.* Shippen, and some more, steered clear of the difficulty by staying away from the debate. But, as Wharton writes, "Sir Chris-

* Duke of Wharton to James, Feb. 3. 1725. Appendix.

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"topher Musgrave, Sir Thomas Sebright, and Sir "Jermyn Davers, out of their utter detestation "for Your Majesty's enemies, bravely opposed the "very bringing in of any Bill whatsoever." Yet notwithstanding this motley combination of ardent Whigs and ardent Tories, the minority could only muster 113 votes against 231. In the Lords, a strong protest against it was signed by Lechmere and four other Peers. Lechmere had been created a Peer by Walpole, but was now indignant at not succeeding Macclesfield as Chancellor: — "he votes and speaks with us," says Wharton; "but I am afraid from resentment, and not prin- "ciple."

On the passing of the Act, Bolingbroke returned to England. He appears to have made one more effort to gain the friendship of Walpole, and his support in completing his restoration; but being repulsed, he plunged decisively into cabals against that minister. Still retaining his influence with the Duchess of Kendal, he endeavoured to combine a strong opposition in Parliament and in the country, under the convenient name of PATRIOTS, and he found an unexpected and most powerful ally in William Pulteney. This celebrated party leader was born in 1682: his family was old, his fortune immense. He early distinguished himself in Parliament; during the last years of Queen Anne, he was one of the most steady and able supporters of the Whigs, and on the accession of George, became Secretary at War. Walpole and he

were especially intimate. When Walpole was sent to the Tower, for corruption, Pulteney had spoken in favour of his friend; when a schism broke out in the Government of 1717, Pulteney was one of the few who adhered to Walpole, and left office with him.* He had, therefore, the strongest claims, political and personal, upon Walpole, when Walpole returned to power. But he had two great faults in Walpole's eyes—ability and independence. In fact, there is nothing more remarkable throughout all Walpole's administration, than his extreme jealousy of any colleague who could possibly grow his rival near the throne. Considering the very favourable circumstances under which he became Prime Minister—the deaths, in such rapid succession, of all his chief competitors—the reunion of the great Whig party—the insignificance and division of the Tories in Parliament—the readiness of the chief remaining statesmen to act under him—we can scarcely doubt, that a liberal encouragement of rising talents, and toleration of high-minded colleagues, would have secured his power through his life, without serious difficulty, and averted that fearful tempest which during his last years howled around his head, and at length overthrew not only him, but in its violence almost the monarchy itself. But such liberality did not belong to Walpole—he

* It appears, however, that Pulteney did not approve of the factious course which Walpole took in opposition. See Lord Stair's letter to Lord Stanhope, January 23. 1718. Appendix, vol. i.

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would be all or nothing. He could be kind to a dependant, or generous to an enemy; not fair to a colleague. He could forgive great faults, but never great talents. We have already seen his conduct to Stanhope, to Sunderland, and to Carteret; we shall hereafter see it to Townshend and to Chesterfield; and it may truly be said that the opposition under which he fell at last, was one raised and fostered by his own inordinate ambition.

With this feeling Walpole, instead of proposing any office to Pulteney, tendered him a peerage, wishing to withdraw him from a House where his talents and influence were already feared. This offer Pulteney, as might have been expected, indignantly declined. He still continued, however, to expect a junction with Walpole, and two years afterwards consented to take (no doubt as a step to a higher) the very subordinate post of Cofferer of the Household. But finding himself disappointed, he silently brooded over his wrongs, and watched a favourable opportunity to attack the Minister in Parliament. Such an opening occurred in the Session of 1725, on a motion for discharging the debts of the Civil List, when Pulteney expressed his wonder how so great a debt could be contracted in three years' time, but added, that he was not surprised some persons were so eager to have the deficiencies of the Civil List made good, since they and their friends had so great a share in it. After one or two such sallies, he was dis-

missed from his place as Cofferer; he then openly joined opposition and leagued himself with Bolingbroke. In conjunction between them was planned and penned that celebrated paper, the Craftsman, which first appeared in the ensuing year, and which proved one of the bitterest and most formidable assailants of the minister. CHAP. XIII. 1725.

The eloquence of Pulteney was of that kind most valued in English Parliaments — ready, clear, and pointed, and always adapted to the temper of the moment. He was often heard to say, that hardly any man ever became a great orator, who began by making a set speech. A most competent judge, and not his friend, Speaker Onslow, assures us that he knew how "to animate every subject of "popularity with the spirit and fire, that the "orators of the ancient commonwealths governed "the people by; was as classical and as elegant "in the speeches he did not prepare, as they "were in their most studied compositions, mingling "wit and pleasantry, and the application even of "little stories so properly, to affect his hearers, "that he would overset the best argumentation "in the world, and win people to his side, often "against their own convictions." The same quickness of wit sparkled in his conversation *, and in

* An accomplished acquaintance said of him, "Whenever Lord "Bath desists from Greek and punning, I take it to be just as "bad a symptom as if he lost his appetite." This was only a few months before his death. See the Memoirs of Mrs. Carter by the Rev. M. Pennington, vol. i. p. 394.

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his writings, nor only in prose, for he had a natural and happy vein for the lighter sort of poetry. But this very vivacity too often unsettled his judgment, and defeated his designs. "His parts," says Lord Chesterfield, "were rather above business; and "the warmth of his imagination, joined to the "impetuosity and restlessness of his temper, made "him incapable of conducting it long together "with prudence." From the same temper, he has been accused of indiscretion; and he sometimes (as is often seen) attempted to prove that he could keep new secrets, by revealing old ones, that is, by boasting of the instances in which he had been already trusted. If we compare him to Chatham, we shall not find the same lofty and commanding spirit; if to Walpole, we shall miss a steady and sagacious application. Unlike both of these, the base passion of avarice had sprung up in his bosom, and grew so high, as sometimes to stifle that nobler plant, ambition. His private character, however, was respectable; his public, uncorrupt. No stain of treachery, of ingratitude, or of intrigues against the Protestant succession, rests upon his memory. He could win popularity, but not employ it either for the benefit of those who gave it or for his own. The idol of the nation, as William Pulteney, became their scorn as Earl of Bath; he tried often, but in vain, to recover his lost ground; and he passed his old age in that greatest of all curses that can befall the

human mind — to find its aspirations higher than its powers. CHAP. XIII.

Another result of this Session, which must not be omitted, was the passing of the "City Act." The object was to curb the Common Council of London, and restrain that opposition which they frequently manifested against every government; the means were to vest in the Mayor and Court of Aldermen, a negative on their proceedings. The bill was not carried without a violent outcry in London, and a strong opposition in the House of Lords; and the negative it granted was so unpopular, that it appears to have remained dormant and disused for nearly fourteen years.* 1725.

Immediately at the close of the Session, in June 1725, the King revived the order of the Bath, which had been dropped since the coronation of Charles the Second. The number of knights was now fixed at thirty-eight, amongst whom neither Walpole nor his son were forgotten. Next year, Sir Robert had the further distinction of being installed Knight of the Garter, being the only commoner in modern times, except Admiral Montagu, who ever enjoyed that honour. I have been assured that the Garter was in like manner warmly pressed upon Mr. Pitt by George the Third, but respectfully declined by the minister, and that the

* Duke of Wharton to James, May 1. 1725. Appendix. Coxe's Pelham, vol. i. p. 221.

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King then insisted on transferring it to his brother Lord Chatham.

It was with great difficulty that, in the foregoing year, the remonstrances of Townshend had withheld the King from returning to Hanover*; but scarcely had this Session ended, than he began his journey, accompanied as usual by Townshend and the Duchess of Kendal. The state of his foreign relations was now again becoming critical, and needed his utmost attention. Philip the Fifth at this time, was once more King of Spain; he had, early in 1724, under the influence of a hypochondriac melancholy, resigned in favour of his son, Don Luis, and retired to St. Ildefonso; but the young Prince dying after a reign of only seven months, Philip was induced, by the ambition of his Queen, to re-ascend the throne. His differences with the Emperor were not yet finally adjusted. We have seen that the treaties at the fall of Alberoni being concluded in haste for the cessation of hostilities, could not at once wholly reconcile so many jarring and complicated interests, and reserved some points (amongst others Gibraltar) for a future Congress at Cambray.† That Congress, from various petty difficulties and delays, did not meet till January, 1724, and even then its proceedings were languid and without result. In fact, the Spanish Court had begun to think that a private and separate

* Lord Townshend to the King, April, 1724. Coxe's Walpole.

† See vol. i. p. 527.

negotiation with the Emperor, would best attain its objects; and with this hope it had despatched, as ambassador to Vienna, Baron Ripperda, an intriguing Dutch adventurer, who had been a tool of Alberoni, and who now, from the want of able statesmen, was considered so himself. CHAP. XIII. 1725.

It is probable, however, that these slow negotiations might have lingered on for many months, or even years, had they not received an impulse from a new and unforeseen event. One chief inducement with Philip, in acceding to the Quadruple Alliance, had been a double marriage between the branches of the House of Bourbon. His son, Don Luis, espoused a daughter of the Regent Duke of Orleans, while his daughter, the Infanta Mary Anne, was betrothed to the young King of France. In pursuance of this compact, the Infanta, then only four years of age, had been sent to Paris to be educated according to the French manners, and was treated as the future Queen. The French nation, however, viewed with much distaste an alliance which afforded only such distant hopes of issue; and when the Duke de Bourbon came to the helm of affairs, he had a peculiar motive for aversion to it. Should Louis the Fifteenth die childless, the next heir would be the son of the late Regent, the young Duke of Orleans, between whom and Bourbon there had sprung up a personal and rancorous hatred. Bourbon had, therefore, the strongest reason to dread the accession of that Prince; an illness of Louis, about this time,

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quickened his apprehensions*, and he determined, at all hazards, to dismiss the Infanta, and find the King another bride of maturer years. At one time he thought of Princess Anne of England; but King George, when sounded on this subject, declared, much to his honour, that the obstacle of religion (for the bride must have become a Roman Catholic) was insuperable. The Duke de Bourbon and Madame de Prie next turned their eyes to Mary Leczinska, daughter of Stanislaus, the exiled King of Poland. The cradle of Mary had been rocked amidst the storms of civil war; on one occasion, for example, when still a child in arms, she was forgotten and lost in a hurried retreat; and at length, after an anxious search, was found by her father lying in the trough of a village stable.† She was now twenty-one years of age, and not deficient in beauty or accomplishments; while her state of exile and obscurity would, Madame de Prie expected, render her more grateful for her elevation, and more pliant to control.

This alliance being finally fixed, and the consent of Louis obtained, the Duke de Bourbon, in March, 1725, sent back the Infanta. Such an insult, which would have been painful to any temper, was intolerable to the pride of Spain. Scarcely could the mob be restrained from a general massacre of the French at Madrid. The King and Queen

* Duclos, Mem. vol. ii. p. 299.

† Voltaire, Hist. de Charles XII. livre iii. He heard this anecdote from Stanislaus himself.

expressed their resentment in most passionate terms *, declaring that they would never be reconciled till the Duke de Bourbon came to their Court and implored their pardon on his knees. To Mr. William Stanhope, the English minister, they announced their intention to place, in future, their whole trust and confidence in his master, and allow no mediation but his in their negotiations. But as soon as it appeared that King George refused on this account to break his connection with France, their Spanish Majesties turned their resentment against him also. They dissolved the Congress of Cambray by recalling their Plenipotentaries, and instructed Ripperda to abandon all the contested points with the Court of Vienna, and form, if possible, a close alliance against France and England.

Nor was the Emperor disinclined to accept these overtures. He had thought himself wronged by the terms of the Quadruple Allies; and though he acquiesced in the first, had never forgiven the latter. Of France he was afraid; of Hanover, jealous; and he had recently embroiled himself with England and Holland by establishing at Ostend an East India Company, which was considered as contrary to the treaty of Westphalia, and which, at

* The Queen exclaimed to the French envoy, "All the Bourbons are a race of devils!" then, suddenly recollecting that her husband was of that House, she turned to him and added, "except your Majesty!"—Account of Ripperda; and Coxe's Memoirs of Spain, vol. iii. p. 111.

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all events, was keenly resented by the maritime powers. Under these impressions, Ripperdá found few difficulties in his negotiations, and on the last of April and first of May, signed three treaties at Vienna, confirming the articles of the Quadruple Alliance, but proceeding to form a close concert of measures. By these, the King of Spain sanctioned the Ostend Company, and allowed it the same privileges as to the most favoured nations.* He ceased to insist on a point he had long demanded — the exclusive mastership of the Golden Fleece. He no longer claimed that Spanish troops should garrison the fortresses of Tuscany. He acknowledged the Emperor's right to Naples, Sicily, the Milanese, and Netherlands; and guaranteed what was termed the Pragmatic Sanction, namely the succession of the hereditary states of Austria in the female line. This was a point for which Charles was most solicitous, having only daughters in his family, and its guarantee was a vast concession on the part of Philip, who might otherwise on the Emperor's death have put forth a just, or at least a plausible, claim on his Flemish and Italian dominions. Both Sovereigns engaged to support each other, should either be attacked; Charles to bring into the field 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse; Philip, only 20,000 troops, but 15 ships of war.†

* Only a year before (April 26. 1724.) the King had made a solemn representation against this Company. See Dumont Suppl. Corps Diplom. vol. viii. part ii. p. 85.

† Dumont Suppl. Corps Diplom. vol. viii. part ii. p. 114.

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The world beheld, with astonishment, two Princes, whose rival pretensions had for so many years distracted Europe with divisions and deluged it with blood, now suddenly bound together by the closest ties of alliance, and combining against those very powers which had hitherto befriended and aided one part or the other. But the large concessions made by Philip, ill compensated by a new renunciation of the Spanish crown from Charles, raised an immediate suspicion, that there must be other secret articles to the advantage of the Court of Madrid; and, in fact, hopes had been held out to it of a project most dangerous to the balance of power — a marriage between the young Archduchess, the heiress of the Austrian States, and one of the Infants of Spain. These were only hopes; but it was speedily shown, by many concurrent proofs, and afterwards confirmed by the confession of Ripperda and others, that at the same time with the public treaty, a private agreement had been concluded, according to which the allies of Vienna were to demand first Gibraltar, and then Minorca, for Spain; and, in case of refusal, to combine for the restitution of these by force, and for the enthronement of the Pretender in England. A motive of religion was also mingled in the latter project; and either the accomplishment or the alarm of it might, as the Emperor hoped, obtain his great object at this time — the

The Emperor's contingent is augmented by 10,000 in Coxe's Walpole.

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guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction by the French and English nations. "In this case," said Walpole, many years afterwards, "it was not His late "Majesty's ministers here who informed him; it "was he that informed them of the transaction; "he had his information at Hanover, and it was "so good that he could not be deceived; I know "as well, and am as certain that there were such "articles, as those very persons who drew up the "articles." *

Russia also showed a strong inclination to engage in the same confederacy. On the death of Peter the Great, his widow, Catherine, had been acknowledged as Empress, and pursued his plans with scarcely an inferior spirit. She had inherited his rancour against England; and having married her daughter to the Duke of Holstein, became eager to recover Sleswick, which Denmark had formerly wrested from that Duchy. "For myself," she said, "I could be content with clothes to "keep me warm, and with bread to eat; but I am "determined to see justice done to my son-in-law; "and, for his sake, I would not scruple to put "myself at the head of an army †;" — and accordingly she issued orders for soldiers and ships to be equipped. Large sums were transmitted from Madrid to St. Petersburg, larger still to Vienna; in fact, it is said, that this last Court received no less than 1,300,000 pistoles in fourteen months.

* Speech, March 29. 1734. Parl. Hist. vol. ix. p. 598.

† Mr. Poyntz to Lord Townshend, May 14. 1725.

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Such formidable preparations called for a counter confederacy on the part of England. Horace Walpole obtained the accession of France; Prussia was secured by Townshend, through a guarantee of its claims on Juliers; and, on the 3d of September, was signed a defensive alliance between these three Powers, called, from the place of its signature, the Treaty of Hanover. A separate article referred to some cruelties lately practised on the Protestants at Thorn in Polish Prussia, and engaged to obtain satisfaction for them. The second and third undertook that, in case of any attack on one of the contracting parties, the others should furnish a certain quota in troops, or the value in ships or money; and, in case of need, should agree concerning further succours. These were nearly all the apparent stipulations; but their real drift was, moreover, to counter-balance the treaty of Vienna, — compel the Emperor to relinquish the Ostend Company, — and withstand any attempts that might be made in behalf of the Pretender.

Such was the celebrated treaty of Hanover, against which the opposition so often thundered during the administration of Walpole. "Thus "Hanover rode triumphant on the shoulders of "England," writes Chesterfield. "It was a treaty, "the tendency of which is discovered in the "name," cries Chatham. But their judgment loses much of its weight, when we find it built on the assumption that there was, in fact, no secret agreement at Vienna. The proofs of that agreement,

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depending mainly on private and confidential disclosures, could not, at the time, be made known; and party spirit was eager to deny an injury which it would not resent. But we — who can scarcely be unconvinced that there was such an agreement — who observe that the two Courts were rapidly marching to its execution, and that Spain had just taken the first public step by a peremptory demand of Gibraltar from the British Government — can we doubt that it was necessary to provide against this alarming combination, and that a counter-alliance was likely to prove, as it did prove, the best means of averting the danger, and preserving peace to England and to Europe?

Nor can it truly be said, that the treaty of Hanover was framed to promote Hanoverian objects. I do not deny, that the interests of Hanover had, in many instances, been unduly cherished, and had given rise to some of the difficulties out of which the treaty sprung. It was the acquisition of Bremen and Verden from Denmark which produced the seizure of Sleswick and the resentment of Russia, while the Emperor was no less offended at this spirit of aggrandisement, and at the refusal of George to pay the large fines required for investitures. Had it not been for Hanover, there might have been no confederacy at Vienna. But that confederacy once formed, and once pointed against England, from whatever cause, it was necessary for England to withstand it; and the treaty of the 3d of September was, in fact, only for the

defence of England and of English objects, — Gibraltar, the Ostend Company, and the attempts of the Pretender, — in all which Hanover had not the least concern. So certain is this, that the King's German ministers were unanimous against it, complaining that the King was exposing his foreign states to the vengeance of the head of the Empire for the sake of the English trade. The King himself opposed the treaty on this ground, and it was with great difficulty that his consent was extorted by Townshend. And thus, while the opposition at home was clamorous against the treaty as too Hanoverian, the Germans, with more reason, denounced it as too English. CHAP. XIII. 1725.

The treaty of Hanover was, I think, the only Ministerial measure from 1721 to 1742, in which Walpole did not take the principal lead. A statesman so jealous of power, was not a little displeased to find this important transaction almost solely conducted by a colleague. He was determined, according to his own phrase, that the firm should be Walpole and Townshend, not Townshend and Walpole. To this period may probably be ascribed his first animosity against his brother minister; perhaps even the fixed intention to remove him at a fitting opportunity. He complained that Townshend had been "too precipitate;" meaning, no doubt, that there would have been sufficient time to receive his advice and directions, — and surely his talents deserved it. All his remarks on this subject display his superior sagacity. He fully ap-

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proved of the main principles of the Treaty, but he remonstrated against the large sums required to gain Sweden; he would not lay an embargo on the Russian ships of war; he thought it a grievous omission not to have secured Portugal in the event of another war with Spain. Still more must he have disapproved a wild scheme which Townshend had formed and communicated to his brother Horace; to conquer the Austrian Netherlands, and divide them between England, Holland, and France.* Walpole was far too wise a statesman to allow the French, under any pretext, a footing in the Netherlands. He knew, as was emphatically said many years afterwards by an American minister in London, that "if ever France should acquire the dominion of Flanders, having at the same time a good constitution, the consequence of this island is gone."†

In December, the King began his journey to England; and landed at Rye after a most violent tempest, which exposed him to considerable danger. The engagements he had lately concluded produced the principal, indeed the only important, debates of the ensuing Session; their policy was severely arraigned by Pulteney, Shippen, and Lord Lechmere; but ably defended by Townshend and the two Walpoles, and supported by large

* Lord Townshend to Horace Walpole, August 27. 1725.

† Gouverneur Morris' Letters. To President Washington, August 30. 1790.

majorities in both Houses. The funds also, which on the apprehension of war had fallen 12 or 14 per cent *, gradually recovered from their depression. CHAP. XIII. 1725.

* See Mr. Barnard's Speech, Feb. 9. 1726. (Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 502.)

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WHILE such engagements were concluded at Hanover, and confirmed in London, the little Court of the Pretender was full of expectation and scheming. "I have had for some time reason "to hope," writes James to one of his Scotch adherents, "that the Emperor will soon espouse my "restoration in a very particular manner. You "will allow it is no easy matter to persuade a foreign "prince of the facilities he would find in such an "attempt. Therefore I proposed to the Emperor, "to send a minister privately to England, to take "information there of the good disposition of my "subjects, and I have reason to believe that he will "send one soon."* "A secret mission of this kind would, however, have been so liable to suspicion and discovery, that the inquiry was relinquished, or rather left to be the private object of a public embassy. But James, on his own part, sent over one of his most trusty followers, Allan Cameron, to visit the Highlands, and prepare them for a rising. This

* To Mr. Lockhart, Feb. 2. 1726. Lockhart Papers.

agent found there a curious combination of zeal and caution; for example, among the Gordons it was already arranged, that the Duke should stay at home in the next insurrection and secure the estates, while the Earl of Aboyne, as next man of the family, should head the clan.* The principles of the Highlanders were still unchanged, and their spirit unbroken. In vain had the Act for the encouragement of Loyalty in Scotland, brought in by Stanhope in 1715, and commonly called the Clan Act, endeavoured to dissolve their bond of feudal union, by providing, that whenever a vassal took arms in any rebellion, his property was to devolve upon his liege lord if he remained quiet; and on the other hand, that a loyal vassal was to receive the freehold of his lands from a rebellious lord. In vain, also, had there passed in the very last Session, an Act for disarming the Highlanders. There was indeed a simulated surrender of arms to General Wade; but in fact none but old rusty firelocks, and other unserviceable weapons, were yielded by the disaffected clans, while the few well-disposed gave all, so that in 1745, the latter were found defenceless, and the first prepared.† General Wade, who had been sent into Scotland with very full powers, seems to have been a judicious and conciliatory man, insomuch that he became personally popular, even whilst faithfully obeying most distasteful

* Mr. Lockhart to James, July 7. 1726.

† See an article ascribed to Sir Walter Scott. Quart. Rev. No. xxviii. p. 322, &c.

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orders. He employed himself more usefully in making military roads across the Highlands, but these (such is the capriciousness of fame!) are perhaps less remembered for the solid advantage, than for the silly panegyric they produced.*

From the North, Allan Cameron proceeded to Edinburgh, to confer with the Duke of Hamilton, Mr. Lockhart, and the other managers or "trustees" of James in the south of Scotland; for it is very remarkable how slight and casual were then the communications between the Highlands and Lowlands, and how little the Chiefs in one quarter knew what was passing in the other. Though attainted, Cameron remained for some time at Edinburgh, and ventured to frequent the most public taverns, observing only a new and convivial plan for his security. "All his caution," writes Lockhart, "consisted in outsitting all other "companies at the same tavern, so that he was safe "going home!"† Cameron was assured, that James's party had not fallen off in numbers or in zeal, and that the people at large were ripe for another attempt. But it was added, that this attempt could never promise success unless made with a foreign force; that such a force ought to land in England, and the nearer London the better; and that nothing should, or need be expected from Scotland,

* I allude to the well known couplet:—

"Had you but seen these roads, *before they were made*,
"You'd have lifted up your eyes, and blessed General Wade!"

† To Lord Inverness, June 9. 1726.

except a diversion, to prevent the troops stationed there from being called to England, or to intercept them if they marched. With this view a smaller division of foreign troops would be useful in Scotland; and it was recommended, that if sufficiently strong to stand against the regular forces, they should land to the south of the Forth; but if too weak, they should be set on shore in the Highlands, so as to be quickly joined by the clans. The "aversion to the Union," it was also said, "daily increases, and that is the handle by which "Scotsmen will be incited to make a general and "zealous appearance."*

Almost every Court in Europe now became the scene of negotiations on the part of James. Bishop Atterbury was his ablest, and not his least active partisan: on his first landing, he had gone to Brussels; but had afterwards proceeded to Paris, where he managed the Pretender's business, although so covertly, that his friends in England were still able to deny his Jacobite connections. In his own words to James, "I obey all your com-"mands, as far as my sad state of health, and the "recluse and solitary life I am obliged to lead, have "enabled me. I do my best; and what is wanting "in abilities, endeavour to make up by my prayers "for your prosperity and happiness."† There was little to be done with the ruling French ministers, but a large field for intrigue with the statesmen

* Mr. Lockhart to James, December 18. 1725.

† Bishop Atterbury to James, June 25. 1725. Appendix.

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out of power, and the party attached to the maxims of Louis the Fourteenth. Lord Mar was also at Paris, but no longer in James's confidence. For some time after the return from Scotland, he had been James's sole favourite; all business passed through his hands, or was entrusted to his creatures; and those that would not truckle to him were represented as factious and humoursome, and opposing their Prince's just authority. Not a few faithful old servants consequently retired from James's Court in disgust. But in passing through Geneva in 1719, under a feigned name, Mar was suddenly arrested by that Republic, and detained a prisoner, out of complaisance to the English ministers; this led to some overtures with his personal friend Lord Stair, then ambassador at Paris; and finding the Jacobite cause baffled and declining, he was not unwilling to stoop for favours to the government of George. "In my humble opinion," writes Stair, "the taking him off will be the "greatest blow that can be given to the Pre- "tender's interest; and it may be made use of to "show to the world, that nobody but a Papist can "hope to continue in favour with him." * The government would not go the length that Stair desired; but Mar was allowed a pension out of his forfeited estates, and the estates, by a simulated sale were suffered to revert to his family. Such, however, was the crooked temper of this man, that he

* To Secretary Craggs, May 29. 1719.

endeavoured to seem equally a friend to each side; he has been accused of revealing the secrets of his master; and at all events, it is certain, that, while professing his sorrow to King George, he wished still to be esteemed a Jacobite at Rome. He applied for and obtained James's permission to receive the indulgence of the English government; and when he found that he could gain no more favours from the latter, endeavoured again to conduct the business of the former. He caballed with Lord Lansdowne at Paris, and with some of his former friends from Scotland. But so far was he from recovering James's favour, that this Prince, like all weak men, ran into the opposite extreme, and looked with coldness and distrust on many of his most faithful followers, on account of their personal intimacy with Mar, even where that intimacy had been formed by his own direction, or resulted from his own partiality.* CHAP. XIV. 1725.

A feeble mind, however, can never stand alone; it requires a director as much as a creeping plant does a stake; and James immediately transferred his unbounded confidence to Colonel John Hay, brother of Lord Kinnoul, whom, in 1725, he declared his Secretary of State and Earl of Inverness. Next in favour came James Murray, son of Lord Stormont and brother of Hay's wife; he was at this time likewise made Governor of the Prince, and Earl

* See the Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 561—600. Lockhart's Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 178, 201, &c. Atterbury's Letters to James. Appendix, &c.

CHAP. XIV. 1725. of Dunbar. This triumvirate, then—the two Hays, and Murray—ruled every thing at the little Court of James, and raised much dissatisfaction amongst his partisans. Inverness, according to a most respectable authority, "was a cunning, false, avaricious crea-"ture of very ordinary parts, cultivated by no sort "of literature, and altogether void of experience in "business; with insolence prevailing often over "his little stock of prudence. The lady was a "mere coquette, tolerably handsome, but withal "prodigiously vain and arrogant." * Of Dunbar it is admitted, that the character stood far higher; he was brother of William Murray, afterwards Earl of Mansfield, and like that brother had talents of the highest order, and well suited for public affairs, but he was injured at this time by his connection with the Hays.

The Pretender himself, though a mild, good-natured, and well-meaning man, was still a Stuart, and not free from the especial curse of that race; when once prepossessed by any favourites, however worthless, he would see and hear nothing to their discredit, and considered all remonstrances against them as insults to himself. It was not long before his titular Queen, Clementina, a Princess of high spirit and blameless character, began to complain of the intolerable insolence with which she was treated by Inverness and his wife. Finding that she could obtain no belief or redress against them, she next applied to her husband's religious

* Lockhart's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 340.

scruples by lamenting that the Prince's Governor, Dunbar, should be a Protestant! Nay more, she urged the same objection against Inverness, as minister, and was foolish enough to use an expression which James, with still more signal folly, afterwards published to the world:—"If he have not "true faith to God, can he be truly faithful to his "master?" * She declared that she would not live with her husband unless Inverness were removed; and at length, on the 15th of November, fulfilled her threat by leaving James's palace, and retiring to the Convent of St. Cecilia, at Rome. Her principal adviser was the veteran, and now unemployed, intriguer, Alberoni; one morning that ambitious priest was six hours and a half together, at her Convent.† CHAP. XIV. 1725.

Many explanatory letters and memorials were soon handed about on the part of James or of Clementina; he complained of her temper‡, she of

* "In answer to what I say of Lord Inverness's fidelity she "puts me the question, 'S'il est infidele à Dieu, sera-t'il fidele "'à son maître?'" Circular letter of James, dated March 2. 1726.

† Circular letter, March 2. 1726, and to the Duke of Ripperda, December 7. 1725.

‡ "Vous ne pouvez que vous souvenir avec quelle patience "j'ai souffert vos bouderies depuis plus de deux ans, et que "dans le temps où vous vouliez à peine me parler ou me re-"garder, je n'ai pris autre parti que celui du silence."—James to Clementina, November 11. 1725. Yet Montaigne might have taught him that "Ceulx qui ont à négocier avec des "femmes testues peuvent avoir essayé à quelle rage on les jecte

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his obstinacy; but it is very strange, that in this case the most voluminous flow of explanation and recrimination was not on the lady's side!

These mazes of conflicting statements would be difficult to pierce, and might wholly shut out the truth from us, did we not find a trusty guide in Lockhart of Carnwath. It is impossible to read the Memoirs and Letters of that gentleman without high respect and confidence in his character. A Jacobite from most conscientious principle—always pursuing what he thought the right, through good report and ill report—always telling the truth without fear or favour—he at last offended the Court of James by his frankness as much as the Court of George by his exertions. "It was," he tells us, "commonly reported and believed, that "Lady Inverness was the King's mistress, and that "the Queen's jealousy was the cause of the rup- "ture; but I have been often assured, by persons "on whom I may depend, that whilst they lived "with the King they could observe nothing in "him tending that way, and did verily believe "there was nothing of that in the matter."* Nor, in fact, do Clementina's own letters seem to speak of jealousy. But, with the same equal hand, does Lockhart proceed to condemn the intriguing

"quand on oppose à leur agitation le silence et la froideur, et "qu'on desdaigne de nourrir leur courroux." Essais, livre ii. ch. 31.

* Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 340.

character of Inverness, and the weak partiality of his master. He observes, that this obstinate devotion to favourites, seeming to grow in proportion to the complaints which they provoked, did the Jacobite cause incalculable evil, both at home and abroad. At Vienna, the Emperor, whose House was allied to that of Sobieski, was highly displeased at the treatment of his kinswoman. At Madrid, the Queen of Spain, as appears from the Stuart Papers, considered the privileges of her sex as invaded, and resented it with the utmost indignation.* Thus, at this important crisis, did James give personal offence to the two Sovereigns on whose aid all his hopes depended. He endeavoured to blind his British partisans as to the mischief done abroad †, but he could not so easily conceal from them the ill effects which they had before their eyes. "Your "trustees," answers Lockhart, "are glad to hear "from so good an authority as yourself (without "which they would scarce have credited it), that "this affair is not likely to produce any bad con- "sequences on your affairs abroad, but it is with "the greatest concern that they see quite the con- "trary at home; and therefore are obliged, by the "duty they owe you, in plain words to tell you, "that so far as their observations and intelligence "reaches they apprehend it is the severest stroke

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* Duke of Wharton to James, Madrid, April 13. 1726. Appendix. The King of Spain withdrew his pension from James. William Stanhope to the Duke of Newcastle, February 11. 1726.

† Letter of James, May 1. 1726.

CHAP. XIV. 1726. "your affairs have got these many years, and will "be such an impediment to them that they have "much reason to think no circumstance of time, "no situation of the affairs of Europe, can make "amends; which thought affects them the more "that they perceive you have expectations that "something will soon cast up in your favour, and "it is a very mortifying reflection that such an "opportunity should be frustrated. They beg "leave, with the greatest respect and submission, "to represent that they believe this point to be of "such consequence to you that, in good policy "and prudence, you should rather pass by some "failings in, and make some condescensions to the "Queen, than not repair a breach that in all ap-"pearance will prove fatal. They have seriously "considered how to put such a face upon it as "may be most for your service; but cannot find "any expedient so probable as not to revive and "bring the matter upon the carpet, for your "people here, of all kinds, have got such an im-"pression of the Queen's great merit, and are so "prepossessed with the reports of her being ill "used by some about you, that it is in vain to "attempt dispossessing them of that notion. ..... "May God Almighty direct you in this, perhaps, "the most critical step of your life!" *

There was also another incident, soon after

* Mr. Lockhart to James, July 23. 1726. He writes in the name of all James's "Trustees" in Scotland.

wards, that did infinite disservice to James's cause in England. Lord North and the Duke of Wharton had lately gone abroad, and openly attached themselves to the Pretender's party, and now, each separately, renounced the Protestant and embraced the Roman Catholic faith. This led to a general belief in England, that their motive was only to please their new master; and that there was no such sure road to his confidence as by professing his religion. The odium of such a rumour amongst a Protestant people need not be explained, and could not be exaggerated. Wharton, especially, was well known to be no Christian of any Church, nor ever in his life suspected of a conscience. We may observe, however, that neither to him, nor to Lord North, did any benefit accrue from their conversion. North found himself so little trusted and regarded at the Jacobite Court, that, in disgust, he entered the Spanish service, and continued in it till his death, in 1734. Wharton, even before his change of religion, had been received with the highest favour at Rome: he obtained from the English mock-monarch the order of the Garter, and the ducal titles of Wharton and Northumberland, and was sent ambassador to Spain, to assist Ormond in pressing for an expedition, and to vindicate the late separation in the Pretender's family. James had not yet discovered that this wayward and capricious man was always far more dangerous to his friends than to his ene-

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mies; and that his talents served only to render his frailties more conspicuous and more despised.

On arriving at Madrid, in April 1726, Wharton soon began the usual complaints of all those who negotiate with the Spaniards. "I see the Duke "of Ormond has been very active here; but no- "body that has not been something conversant "with this Court can imagine how impracticable it "is to do business." * He found, as he says, the King and Queen "implacable" in the affair of James's consort. His own behaviour at Madrid was most strange and indiscreet. According to Mr. Keene, then British consul, "the Duke of "Wharton has not been sober, or scarce had a "pipe out of his mouth, since he came back from "his expedition to St. Ildefonso. On Tuesday "last I had some company with me that he "wanted to speak with, upon which he came "directly into the room, made his compliments, "and placed himself by me. I did not think "myself obliged to turn out his star and garter; "because, as he is an everlasting talker and tip- "pler, in all probability he might lavish out some- "thing that might be of use to know. . . . . He "declared himself the Pretender's prime minister, "and Duke of Wharton and Northumberland. . . . . "Says he, 'You will shortly see the event; it is "'in my power to make your stocks fall as I "'think fit; my dear master is now in a post-

* Duke of Wharton to James, April 13. 1726. Appendix.

" ' chaise, but the place he designs for I shall
" ' not tell you. . . . . Hitherto my master's in-
" ' terest has been managed by the Duchess of
" ' Perth, and three or four other old women, who
" ' meet under the portal of St. Germain's; he
" ' wanted a Whig, and a brisk one, to put them
" ' in the right train, and I am the man! You
" ' may now look upon me, Sir Philip Wharton,
" ' Knight of the Garter, and Sir Robert Walpole,
" ' Knight of the Bath, running a course, and, by
" ' Heaven, he shall be hard pressed! He bought
" ' my family pictures, but they will not be long
" ' in his possession; that account is still open;
" ' neither he, nor King George, shall be six
" ' months at ease as long as I have the honour to
" ' serve in the employ I am in!' He men-
" tioned great things from Muscovy, and talked
" so much nonsense and contradictions, that it was
" neither worth my while to remember, nor yours
" to read them. I used him very cavalierly, upon
" which he was affronted; sword and pistol next
" day; but, before I slept, a gentleman was sent
" to desire every thing might be forgot. What a
" pleasure must it have been to have killed a
" prime minister!" *

Soon after these degrading scenes, a letter was delivered to Wharton, under the Privy Seal of England, commanding him, on his allegiance, to return forthwith, and threatening outlawry in case

* Letter to Mr. Robinson, April 5. 1726. Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. p. 636.

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of his failure. Of this Wharton himself speaks with much unconcern. He writes to James, "I "had rather carry a musket in an odd-named "Muscovite regiment, than wallow in riches by "the favour of the usurper. . . . . I am told, from "good hands, that I am to be intercepted by the "enemy on my passage. I shall take the best "precautions I can to obviate their malice. I set "out, infallibly, on Tuesday next, and hope to be "with you in three weeks, wind, weather, and "Whigs permitting!" *

When Wharton first arrived, he had found Ripperda lately returned from Vienna, created a Duke, and ruling the country as prime minister. Great efforts were expected from him for the regeneration of Spain, and the restoration of the Stuarts; but in caprice, fickleness, and folly, Ripperda might be worthily compared even with Wharton himself. Though a Dutchman, he out-bragged the Spaniards themselves. He passed the day in boasting of the mighty things he meant to do. He gave the most opposite assurances in different quarters; and instead of deceiving others, only made them angry, and himself contemptible. According to William Stanhope, the British minister, "immediately after his "landing at Barcelona, all the officers of the gar-"rison went to wait upon him, to whom he said, "that the Emperor had 150,000 men ready to "march at an hour's warning, and that Prince "Eugene promised, that in case of a war, he would

* Letter, June 8. 1726. Appendix.

" have as many more in six months. He told them, CHAP.
" that if the Hanoverian league should dare to op- XIV.
" pose themselves to the designs of the Emperor 1726.
" and Spain, France would be pillaged on all sides,
" the King of Prussia, whom he was pleased al-
" ways to call by the name of the grand grenadier,
" would be driven out of his country by the Em-
" peror in one campaign, as His Majesty would be
" also in the same time out of his dominions in
" Germany, and out of his English ones by the
" Pretender; he added, that a reconciliation be-
" tween France and Spain should never be, whilst
" he had any authority, and only wished to live
" till that was brought about; as being assured he
" should then die a very old man."

Yet to Mr. Stanhope himself, he professed the greatest confidence and friendship. " As to the " Pretender," he said, " he must own his having " talked both here and at Vienna in his favour, but " that in his heart he was as sincerely in his Ma- " jesty's interests, as the best subject he had; of " which he would give the most essential proofs " upon every occasion; that his talking in the man- " ner he had done, proceeded from his opinion of " making his court to their Catholic Majesties, " but more especially to appear zealous in his reli- " gion, which was much suspected in this country, " and to avoid passing for a heretic, and falling " into the hands of the Inquisition, who he was " very sure are very watchful over him, and look " upon him as a CRISTIANO NUEVO. This was

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"what he said he would not, nor durst not say to "his confessor; but called God to witness in the "most solemn manner to the exact sincerity of "what he thus affirmed." Yet when Mr. Stanhope observed that all military equipments were proceeding with the utmost despatch, and at a vast expense—that the Spaniards were adding to the fortifications of Cadiz—that artillery, tents, and magazines were all preparing—that a squadron was ordered to put to sea—when it was whispered to him by the Queen's Confessor, and other good authorities, that a war with France and England was absolutely resolved upon—he did not hesitate to assure his Government, that Ripperda's solemn protestations deserved no credit whatever. He concluded that all his speeches were designed only to gain time, and amuse the Court of St. James's, until the arrival of the Galleons and Flota, that were expected at Cadiz in June, with an immense quantity of treasure.*

Ripperda had evidently taken Alberoni for his model; but altogether wanted both the lofty genius, and the laborious application of that remarkable man. It was soon found, that no reliance could be placed in his assertions, and any folly expected from his character. Rodomontades were his only resource on every occasion. Once at his levee, he boasted that he had six very good friends, God, the

* Mr. W. Stanhope to Lord Townshend, Madrid, December 27. 1725.

Holy Virgin, the Emperor and Empress, and the King and Queen of Spain!* Yet whatever might be Ripperda's degree of favour in such high places, it is clear that he found none among the people. The English ambassador declares, that "he has "for inveterate enemies not only all the other ministers, but the whole Spanish nation, to whom "he has rendered himself odious beyond imagination..... It is also certain that the King is "extremely agitated and uneasy, and has daily "disputes and quarrels with the Queen, who does "nothing but cry from morning till night..... "Ripperda has entirely changed his way of talking, "and is now become as abjectly fearful, as he was "before imperiously intrepid."† The Austrian ambassador, Count Konigseck was still more indignant, finding how much Ripperda had bragged of the resources of the Spanish monarchy, and had promised more than he was able to perform. On the other hand, it became no less apparent that the forwardness of Austria had been greatly exaggerated by Ripperda to the Spanish Court, with the view to embolden them and recommend himself. Both parties, soon undeceived, and much disap-

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* Comentarios de Don Joseph del Campo Raso, vol. i. p. 17. He truly adds, "Semejantes discursos daban de su capacidad "la opinion mas singular."

† Mr. Stanhope to the Duke of Newcastle, March 25., April 11. 1726. A Spanish historian admits Mr. Stanhope's accurate information, "El incentivo de sus *Guineas* (o doblones) le "hacian penetrar el lo mas interior de las Secretarias de Estado." Campo Raso, vol. i. p. 69.

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pointed, turned round upon Ripperda, and his own system of falsehood crushed him in its ruins. On the 14th of May he was informed that the King dispensed with his services, but granted him a pension of 3000 pistoles. His dismissal was hailed by the populace with loud acclamations, and muttered threats of tearing him to pieces. Ripperda, bewildered with his fall, and afraid either of mob violence, or of the Royal resentment, adopted the ignominious resolution of taking refuge in the house of the English minister, who had gone the day before to Aranjuez.

On returning home that evening, Mr. Stanhope was not a little surprised to find in his apartments the lately arrogant Prime Minister of Spain imploring his protection. Nay more, so unmanned was Ripperda by his misfortune, and so grateful when Stanhope consented to shelter him, that he proceeded to disclose the highest secrets of his state. He communicated the particulars of the private agreement at Vienna, declaring that it aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of the Protestant Religion; and that the King of Spain had said, that for such an object he would willingly sell his very shirt.* It seems probable, however, that Ripperda may have exaggerated these designs with a view to enhance the merit of his disclosures, or to inflame the British nation against

* Mr. Keene's Memoir for the Duke of Newcastle, June 15. 1726.

the two Courts which had wrought his downfall. All the while that he dictated the secret articles to Mr. Stanhope, we are told that he "appeared to "be in the greatest agonies, and frequently burst "into tears." CHAP. XIV. 1726.

The Spanish Court were both offended and alarmed at Ripperda's flight, foreseeing the probability that he would discover all he knew. They made every exertion to induce Mr. Stanhope to surrender him; but Stanhope steadily refused, and bid them beware how they violated in his person the right of an ambassador and the Law of Nations. Nevertheless, after a few days of argument and altercation, an ALCALDE DE CORTE came to Stanhope at six in the morning with a party of horse-guards, and carried away the Duke by force. Stanhope publicly protested against this act, and sent home Mr. Keene, the Consul, with an account of it, and of Ripperda's revelations. The affair led to a train of representations and counter representations between the two Courts, serving only to embitter the quarrel between them.

Ripperda was now committed a close prisoner to the Castle of Segovia; but, after above two years' captivity, fortune again smiled upon this singular man. He seduced the maid servant, and availed himself of an occasion, when the governor and his wife were both ill, to make his escape with her and with a corporal, whom he had also gained over. The Duke's faithful valet, meanwhile, remained behind; and for some time averted a discovery by

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the pretence that his master was indisposed. Ripperda, in real fact, was so, being crippled with gout, and having the greatest difficulty in descending the ladder of ropes which was lowered from his window. Nor could he afterwards travel but by very short days' journeys. Nevertheless he safely reached the frontier of Portugal, and, proceeding to Oporto, embarked for England under the name of Mendoza. His wife, and some of his children, it appears, still remained in Spain.

On landing in England, Ripperda was received by the government with great attention, but great mystery. They wished to draw full information from him on the treaty of Vienna; they wished to avoid any fresh offence with Spain on his account; they therefore avoided any public interviews with him; but sent an Under Secretary of State to meet him on his way to London, and conduct him privately to the house of Dr. Bland, Head Master of Eton. There he had more than one conference with Townshend, and from thence proceeded with the same secrecy to London. After a little time, however, he flung off the mask, took a large house in Soho Square, and lived with much magnificence. He continued a correspondence with the English ministers, and nourished a chimerical hope to become one of their principal colleagues; but though treated with regard while the differences with Spain were still pending, these were no sooner adjusted than he began to suffer neglect and to show disgust. In 1731, he passed over to Holland, and again

embraced the Protestant faith, which he had forsaken when he attached himself to the Spaniards. But he had not yet reached the end of his vicissitudes. He became acquainted with one Perez, a Spanish renegado, who acted as a Moorish agent at the Hague, and, by his persuasion, was induced to enter the service of Muley Abdallah, Emperor of Marocco. He renounced, or at least dissembled, the Christian religion *, was created a Bashaw, and rose again to the direction of councils. He led an army against the Spaniards and obtained several successes; but being worsted near Ceuta, was compelled to relinquish his command. A civil war in Marocco was, in some degree, decided by his change of party, and at length, retiring to the protection of the Bashaw at Tetuan, he died there at an advanced age in 1737. Thus ended a man whose character will be found far less romantic than his fortunes. Among his mad and unprincipled projects was one which he termed the "Universal Religion," being a compound of the Jewish, Christian, and Mahometan, and intended to reconcile them in one common faith. According to this notable scheme, the Messiah was still to be ex-

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* There is a letter preserved to his friend M. Troye, in which Ripperda protests that he had not renounced the Christian faith. (See Ortiz, Compendio, vol. vii. p. 389.) But this seems to deserve the less credit, since at the same time he asserts that he never had borne, and never would bear, arms against the Spanish Monarchy.—When I was at Tetuan in 1827, I made several inquiries respecting Ripperda, but could find no trace or recollection of him.

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pected, and Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, to be acknowledged as great prophets!

In less than a month after Ripperda was disgraced in Spain, France became the scene of another ministerial revolution. The Duke de Bourbon had sunk lower and lower in the public esteem, from his incapacity in business, and his absolute dependence on Madame de Prie and her creature Paris Duverney. There was also gradually growing up by his side the authority destined to overshadow and supplant him—a man more than threescore and ten years old, but of skill and judgment unimpaired, and an ambition the more powerful, because able to restrain itself and to bide its time. This was no other than the Bishop of Frejus, afterwards Cardinal Fleury, the King's preceptor. "If ever," says Voltaire, "there was "any one happy on earth, it was Fleury. He was "considered one of the most amiable and social "of men till seventy-three, and at that usual age "of retirement, came to be respected as one of "the wisest. From 1726 to 1742 every thing "throve in his hands, and till almost a nonagenarian, his mind continued clear, discerning, and "fit for business."* He had received the bishoprick of Frejus from Louis the Fourteenth, but looked upon it as only a banishment, and even signed a jesting letter to Cardinal Quirini, as "Fleury, Bishop "of Frejus, by divine indignation." His conduct

* Siècle de Louis XV. ch. iii.

in his diocese was, however, so benevolent, regular, and exemplary, as to attract universal love and respect; and he was pointed out by public opinion, as much as by some Court cabals, to the dying monarch, as the preceptor for his infant great grandson and successor. During the regency, Fleury behaved with so much prudence and circumspection, as not to offend either Orleans or Dubois: he never thrust himself into state or Court intrigues, and only zealously discharged the duties of his trust. Gradually he gained an absolute control over the mind of his pupil, and when Bourbon came to the helm, was desired always to assist at the conferences of the monarch and the minister. Nor was his ascendency weakened by his pupil's marriage; for the young Queen, of timid and shrinking temper, and zealous only in her devotions *, took no great part in politics. Fleury would probably have found no difficulty in removing the Duke de Bourbon at an earlier period, but thought it better to let circumstances work for him, and be carried down the propitious current of events. "Time "and I against any two others," was a favourite saying of the crafty Mazarin.

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Fleury, therefore, allowed the attack to come from the opposite quarter. Bourbon contrived

* "This Queen makes no more of a dozen masses in a morn-"ing than Hotspur did of as many Lowland Scotsmen for his "breakfast!" Mr. Robinson to Mr. Delafaye, Sept. 16. 1725. Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii.

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to draw the young Queen to his party, and made a joint application to his Majesty, that he might transact business without the intervention of Fleury. On learning this cabal, Fleury, sure of his ground, but affecting great meekness, took leave of the King by letter, and retired to his country house at Issy. There he remained for one day in apparent disgrace. But it was only for one day. Louis, in the utmost concern at his loss, gave positive orders to Bourbon to invite him back to Court, which the Minister did accordingly, with many expressions of friendship and of wonder at his sudden retirement.* Yet in June, 1726, he was again combining an attack upon this valued friend, when Fleury discovered and crushed him, and obtained without difficulty, his dismissal from office and banishment to Chantilly. From this period, then, begins the justly famous administration of Fleury, — a new era of peace and prosperity to France. Its monument was every where seen inscribed, not on brass or marble, but on the smiling and happy faces of the people. An accomplished traveller writes from Dijon in 1739, "France is so much "improved, it would not be known to be the "same country we passed through twenty years "ago. Every thing I see speaks in praise of "Cardinal Fleury. The roads are all mended, "and such good care taken against robbers, that

* Horace Walpole to Lord Townshend, December 24. 1725. and Duclos, Mem. vol. ii. p. 364.

"you may cross the country with your purse in "your hand.... The French are more changed than "their roads; instead of pale yellow faces wrapped "up in blankets, as we saw them, the villages are "all filled with fresh-coloured lusty peasants, in "good clothes and clean linen. It is incredible "what an air of plenty and content is over the "whole country." * During his whole government, Fleury sought no riches, and displayed no splendour; but lived in the same plain and unostentatious manner as when in a private station. In knowledge of foreign affairs he was second only to Dubois. His abilities were not, perhaps, of the highest order; had they been so, they would probably have worn out earlier in his life. The flame of genius which dazzles the beholder is almost equally certain to burn and consume its tenement. Nor was Fleury wholly free from the common defects of age; he was too fond of expedients and delays, and on many occasions carried his caution to timidity, his economy to avarice. Yet the latter was exerted in the public expenses as much as in his own; and if he was afraid of war, his predecessors for the most part had a far worse fault—they were ambitious of it.

At this time the ambassador from England was Horace Walpole—a man who played through life a considerable part, but chiefly because he was brother to Sir Robert. His own nephew assures

* Lady Mary W. Montagu to Mr. Wortley, August 18. 1739.

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us, that so far from being a support he was "a "dead-weight" to Sir Robert's Ministry.* According to the same affectionate relation, "he "knew something of every thing, but how to hold "his tongue, or how to apply his knowledge..... "Whatever the subject was, he never lost sight of "the Norwich manufactures, but his language and "oratory were only adapted to manufacturers." But intelligent manufacturers would surely have been disgusted at his slovenly person†, his awkward manner, and his boisterous buffoonery. What his French may have been we can only conjecture; of his English it is admitted that he never lost a strong provincial accent. But, on the other hand, he had unwearied industry, practical knowledge, and constant readiness. As brother to so great a minister, he enjoyed more respect and confidence abroad than a far abler diplomatist might have attained. So little did he understand characters that, soon after he came to Paris, he paints Fleury in his despatches, as "not very able in foreign affairs, "but a mighty bigot, insomuch that the French

* Memoirs of George the Second, vol. i. p. 122.

† He once alluded himself, strangely enough, to his dress in a Parliamentary Speech: — "If I may be allowed to use a low "simile, the Members opposite treat the Ministry in the same "way as I am treated by some gentlemen of my acquaintance "with respect to my dress: if I am in plain clothes, they say I "am a slovenly dirty fellow; and if, by chance, I have a suit of "clothes with some lace upon them, they cry, 'What! shall such "an awkward fellow wear fine clothes?' So that no dress I "appear in can possibly please them!" (Parl. Hist. vol. ix. p. 223.)

"themselves think him too great a Papist!".* But ere long he came to perceive the great abilities and rising influence of that statesman, and cultivated his friendship with the most assiduous care. On the day when Fleury retired from Court, Horace Walpole judiciously went to call upon him at Issy, and this well-timed visit produced an inconceivable effect upon the Cardinal. He ever after looked upon the Walpoles as his intimate and personal friends. "Once," says St. Simon, "when "I ventured to remonstrate with him on his blind "confidence in these two brothers, Fleury immediately alleged this visit, as an heroic act of "attachment which must for ever remove all "doubts and scruples."† CHAP. XIV. 1726.

Thus, then, the accession of Fleury to power, far from shaking, rather confirmed the Hanover alliance; nor did the ministers of George relax in their exertions to extend it. After some struggle their party gained the ascendency in the Swedish councils. The Dutch also, as before in the Triple and Quadruple Alliances, adopted the policy of England, though from the slowness of their forms they always came lagging in the rear. "Their distinguishing talent," once said Chesterfield, "is to wrangle tenaciously upon trifles."‡ A British squadron, under Admiral Hosier, was sent to the West Indies, and blockaded Porto

* See Coxe's Life, p. 54.

† St. Simon, Mem. vol. xvi. p. 405. ed. 1829.

‡ To Mr. Dayrolles, May 19. 1752.

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Bello. Admiral Wager, with another squadron, sailed for the Baltic, to pursue the same system which, in 1719, Stanhope had formed and Norris executed, and which had been defined "to drive "the Muscovites as far off as is possible." * In the latter case, however, as in the former, a strong resolution rendered unnecessary strong measures. The very appearance of Wager's fleet off Revel brought round the Russians to a more pacific temper, and the death of the Czarina, soon afterwards, altogether dissipated for the time their warlike schemes.

In Spain, as in France, the fall of the Prime Minister had produced little alteration in foreign policy, and Philip still firmly clung to his alliance with the Emperor. The latter sovereign, also was unshaken in his purpose, and had just succeeded in drawing the King of Prussia from the Hanover alliance. But his main hope was founded on intrigues in England, through the means of Palm, his resident at London. It was easy for Palm to gain, as partisans, all the Hanoverian favourites. The Duchess of Kendal had no insurmountable objection to either Spanish or Austrian gold. To Bothmar, and to the other ministers, the Treaty of Hanover had always appeared a measure far too English, and the defection of Prussia made them tremble lest the Electorate should be over-run with

* Lord Stair to Secretary Craggs, June 4. 1719. Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii.

Imperial troops. The King himself had a strong leaning to the same views; Hanover was always his paramount object; and it is probable that another ambassador was not far mistaken in saying that "His Majesty rather considers England as a "temporary possession to be made the most of "while it lasts, than as a perpetual inheritance." * But, besides his countrymen, Palm also paid court to the English statesmen in opposition, especially to Pulteney and Bolingbroke, and expected by this joint cabal to effect a change of ministry, and a consequent change of measures. CHAP. XIV. 1726.

In this state of things, Parliament meeting in January, the King's Speech contained this remarkable passage: "I have received information on "which I can entirely depend, that the placing "the Pretender upon the throne of this kingdom "is one of the articles of the secret engagements "at Vienna; and if time shall evince that the "giving up the trade of this nation to one power, "and Gibraltar and Port Mahon to another, is "made the price and reward of imposing upon "this Kingdom a Popish Pretender, what an in-"dignation must this raise in the breast of every "Protestant Briton!" Such an indignation was, in fact, raised in the Commons; an address of thanks was voted by an immense majority (251 against 81): it was unanimously resolved to raise the army to 26,000 men, being an increase of 1727.

* Count de Broglie to the King of France, July 20. 1724.

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8000, and to vote 20,000 seamen; and the supplies granted for such objects fell little short of 3,000,000*l*.

Seeing this general ferment, Palm wrote to the Emperor advising him to disavow any such secret agreement at Vienna, and to declare publicly that the assertions in the Speech were false. Accordingly, Charles, quite ignorant of the workings of the English Constitution, sent over a most indiscreet memorial, which, by his order, Palm presented to the King and published to the country. It denied the secret articles; it used very intemperate language; and, above all, it proceeded to appeal from the throne to the people. Such an insult to the Royal authority and national honour, could not be defended by any party or any person in Parliament; even Shippen, Wyndham, and Pulteney, were loud against it; and readily supported an address, moved by Walpole, "to express "the highest resentment at the affront and in"dignity offered to His Most Sacred Majesty by "the Memorial delivered by M. de Palm, the "Emperor's resident, and at his insolence in "printing and dispersing the same throughout the "kingdom." Nay more, Palm was commanded immediately to depart from England.

With Spain also the breach had been widening. William Stanhope had left Madrid, and orders had been sent from thence to seize the Prince Frederick, a ship belonging to the South Sea Company, at Vera Cruz, while in Europe an army of 20,000 men was

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assembling for the siege of Gibraltar. The command was offered by Philip to the best and bravest of his generals, the Marquis de Villadarias. That veteran had headed the first attempt to recover Gibraltar in 1704; and though not successful, he had there displayed the same spirit and capacity, which had formerly saved Ceuta from the Moors, and Cadiz from the English.* His failure had convinced him, of what farther trials have since made clear to the world, that, difficult as the siege of Gibraltar must be under any circumstances, it is absolutely hopeless when the besiegers are not masters of the sea. Villadarias, therefore, positively refused the command, unless his master would provide a fleet as well as army; he was ready to resist attacks under any disadvantages, but would not flatter his sovereign, or hold out expectations which he was unable to fulfil; still less would he consent to sacrifice brave men for an impracticable object. Philip still persisting in his offer, Villadarias rather chose to resign all his employments, and to retire from the army.† He withdrew accordingly from his long services, with a glorious poverty and an unblemished reputation; and his memory deserves to be ever revered by Spain, as one of the noblest of her sons; by England, as one of her most chivalrous opponents.

* He defended Ceuta in 1698, and Cadiz in 1702, and attacked Gibraltar with Marshal Tessé in 1704. (Mém. de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 275.)

† Ortiz, Compendio, vol. vii. p. 404.

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Philip found, however, a less scrupulous, or more sanguine, General in the Conde de Las Torres, who had formerly run before Lord Peterborough in Valencia, and who now bragged (but this was only till he saw the enemy) that in six weeks he would plant his standards on the rock of Gibraltar, and drive the heretics into the sea! His boast was, no doubt, highly admired by the Spanish Court, but was not altogether confirmed by the event. Trenches were opened before the place on the 11th of February, and all communication with it by sea or land was prohibited upon pain of death.* Gibraltar was already well provided for defence: a squadron of six men of war rode in its harbour, and protected constant supplies of fresh provisions from Tangier and Tetuan. By various reinforcements, the garrison was raised to six thousand men; and the Earl of Portmore, the Governor, though nearly fourscore years of age, resolved to conduct the defence in person, and hastened from England to his post. The besiegers threw a great quantity of bombs into the place, but with little damage, and no result. A mine on which they had formed high hopes, served only, says their own historian, to remind them of the cave of Montesinos, in Don Quixote! † Their proceedings gave scarcely any concern or uneasiness to the garrison, while the Spanish army soon melted to half its numbers from slaughter,

* Mr. W. Stanhope to the Duke of Newcastle, February 10. 1727. Appendix.

† Campo Raso Coment. vol. i. p. 108.

sickness, or desertion, and in four months was glad of the slightest pretext to raise the siege. CHAP. XIV. 1727.

A general war seemed now inevitable. But the Emperor perceived that he was overmatched, and when he felt weakness, as is usual, he professed moderation. Russia had fallen away from him, and Prussia was again wavering; the Dutch and Swedes had openly joined the Hanover allies; and the Spaniards it appeared could not even conquer a fortress upon their own shores. In England, the cabals against the ministry, though still proceeding, had not yet been attended with effect, and could not any longer be safely awaited. Under these circumstances, Charles resolved to sacrifice Spain to his own security; and his new-born moderation was well seconded by the pacific temper of Walpole and of Fleury. After a short negotiation, through the mediation of France, the Austrian ambassador signed at Paris on the 31st of May the preliminaries of peace with England, France, and Holland. The Emperor consented to suspend for seven years the charter of the Ostend Company; to confirm all the treaties previous to 1725, and to refer any other discussions to a General Congress.

Spain also was treated of, though not treated with, at Paris. The fifth article provided that Admiral Hosier should raise the blockade of Porto Bello, and the galleons be permitted to return to Spain. On the other hand, it was expected that the siege of Gibraltar should be discontinued, and the Prince Frederick restored. But though these

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preliminaries were signed by the Spanish ambassador at Vienna, they were not ratified by Philip; and though he raised the siege of Gibraltar, he did not relinquish his pretensions, and the two nations still continued in a state between peace and war.

The satisfaction of Walpole at seeing hostilities averted was not unmixed, for in proportion as the foreign tempest cleared another seemed gathering at home. By large payments, and larger promises, Bolingbroke had wholly gained over the Duchess of Kendal. She did not, indeed, openly declare against the Ministers, from whom she received a yearly pension of 7500*l.*, besides sundry gratifications and presents; but she endeavoured to sink them in the King's opinion, and to obtain not only the complete restoration of Bolingbroke, but his accession to power. On one occasion she gave the King a memorial from her friend, drawn up, no doubt, with his usual skill, declaring that the kingdom must be inevitably ruined should Walpole continue minister; and, in conclusion, entreating an audience, that Bolingbroke might make good his assertions. This memorial, however, the King quietly put into the hands of Walpole himself. Sir Robert, whose sagacity never forsook him, observed that the cover was not sealed, and that therefore the deliverer of it must certainly have known and sanctioned its contents. On the two Turks, the King's attendants, disclaiming all knowledge of it, he went to the Duchess of Kendal, who owned the part she had acted, adding, however, some false and fri-

volous excuses. "I then," says Walpole, "ear- CHAP
"nestly desired the King to admit Bolingbroke to XIV.
"the audience he solicited, and said, that if this 1727.
"was not done the clamour would be, that I kept
"his Majesty to myself, and would allow none to
"come near him to tell the truth." * Through this means was Bolingbroke admitted, but his representations produced no effect; and the King afterwards mentioned them slightingly to his minister, and called them BAGATELLES! But Sir Robert was not ignorant that this attack, though now warded off, would be constantly pointed anew, and that a genius so transcendent as Bolingbroke is formidable even in its wildest schemes. The influence of the Duchess of Kendal might be once repulsed, but not very long resisted; for it is almost incredible how much even the weakest mind can control and sway even the strongest by habits of access at all hours. In Walpole's own words, "as St. John had the Duchess entirely on "his side, I need not add what must, or might in "time, have been the consequence." Speaker Onslow was even assured by Mr. Pelham that Walpole was so convinced of his approaching downfal, that he had determined to retire with a peerage; and was withheld by the remonstrances of the Duke of Devonshire and of

* Mr. Etough's Minutes of a Conversation with Walpole, September 13. 1737.

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the Princess of Wales.* It is probable that this might be a sudden sally, but never a fixed resolution; and Walpole had the less reason to be very solicitous about a peerage since that honour had recently been conferred upon his son. Certain it is that Bolingbroke fully expected that, in the next session, his restoration would be completed—perhaps his administration renewed.

All these projects and hopes, however, were postponed till the King's expected return from Hanover. He had set out for that place on the 3d of June, O.S., with the Duchess of Kendal and Lord Townshend in his train. Late on the 9th he arrived at Delden, apparently in perfect health, and again resumed his journey at four o'clock the next morning. But as he was travelling that forenoon, he was seized with an apoplectic fit in his coach, and on coming to Ippenburen was observed to be quite lethargic; his hands were motionless, his eyes fixed, and his tongue hung out of his mouth. His attendants wished to stop at Ippenburen, and obtain assistance; but the King recovered his speech so far as to cry out several times, impatiently, "Osnabruck! Osnabruck!" Even in that extremity these well-trained courtiers durst not disobey him, and hastened on. But when they reached Osnabruck the King was already dead. He was taken to the house of

* Speaker Onslow's Remarks, Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 571. See also Swift's Letter to Sheridan, May 13. 1727.

his brother the Prince-Bishop, and immediately blooded; but all attempts to recover him were useless. His interment took place at Hanover, in the vault of his ancestors. And thus suddenly closed his checkered and eventful, but, on the whole, prosperous, constitutional, and indulgent reign. CHAP. XIV. 1727.

An express was sent with the fatal news to Lord Townshend, and another to the Duchess of Kendal, who were both at different places in the rear. The minister, after proceeding to Osnabruck, and finding that all was over, hastened back to England. The favourite tore her hair and beat her breast, with other signs of extreme grief, and then dismissing the English ladies who attended her, travelled onwards to Brunswick. She did not disdain, however, again to honour England with her presence, residing chiefly at Kendal House, near Twickenham, till her death, in 1743, when she left enormous wealth to be divided amongst her German relatives.

The reader, who in the reign of George the First has seen his mistresses so often mentioned and his consort not once, will be surprised to learn that the latter had died only seven months before her husband. Sophia-Dorothea of Zell was the name and lineage of this unfortunate princess. When married, in 1682, she was young, accomplished, beautiful. But with indiscretion, though probably no more than indiscretion, she received the attentions of Count Konigsmark, a Swedish noble-

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man who had come on a visit to Hanover. Her husband was absent at the army; her father-in-law, the old Elector, was prepossessed against her, partly by the cabals of his mistress, and partly by her own imprudence of behaviour. The details of this transaction, and of the black deed that followed it, are shrouded in mystery; thus much only is certain, that one evening as Konigsmark had come out of the apartment of the Princess, and was crossing a passage in the palace, several persons, who had been ready posted, rushed upon and despatched him. The spot of this murder is still shown; and many years afterwards, in some repairs, the bones of the unhappy man were discovered beneath the floor. The Princess was placed under arrest; the Prince, on his return, was convinced of her guilt, and concurred in her imprisonment, and obtained from the Consistory a divorce in December, 1694. Sophia was closely confined to the solitary castle of Ahlen, where she dragged on a miserable existence for thirty-two years, till, on the 13th of November, 1726, she was released by death, when she was mentioned in the Gazette as Electress-Dowager of Hanover. During her confinement she used to receive the sacrament every week, and never failed on those occasions to make a solemn protestation of her innocence. Her son, afterwards George the Second, was fully convinced of it; once, it is said, he made a romantic attempt to see her, crossing the river opposite the castle on horseback, but was pre-

vented by Baron Bulow, to whose care she was committed. He secretly kept her picture, and had determined, in the event of her surviving his accession, to have restored her to liberty, and acknowledged her as Queen-Dowager. CHAP. XIV. 1727.

If we may trust some rumours whispered at the time in Germany, the death of this ill-fated Princess hastened that of George. It is said that in her last illness she had delivered to a faithful attendant a letter to her husband, upon promise that it should be given into his own hands. It contained a protestation of her innocence, a reproach for his hard usage, and a citation or summons to appear within a year and a day at the Divine tribunal, and there to answer for the long and many injuries she had received from him. As this letter could not with safety to the bearer be delivered in England, it was given to the King in his coach, on his entering Germany. He opened it immediately, and, it is added, was so struck with the unexpected contents and fatal citation, as to fall at once into the convulsion of which he died.*

Another rumour, not incompatible with the former, states, that Sophia having made a will, bequeathing her personal property to her son, the document was taken to her husband in England, and by him destroyed. Such a story, however,

* See Lockhart's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 352. The letter containing this account was shown him in the same year by Count Welling, Governor of Luxemburg. But some people believed the whole to be a fabrication.

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rests only on Court gossip, and seems quite at variance with the honesty of purpose, and love of justice, which eminently distinguished George the First. If it be really true, the act was very speedily retaliated upon him who wrought it. For George the First, himself, had made a will, with large legacies, as was believed, to the Duchess of Kendal, and her niece (some said her daughter) Lady Walsingham. One copy of this will he had intrusted to Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, who produced it at the very first Council attended by the new King, expecting that His Majesty would immediately open and read it. But George the Second, without saying a single word, put it in his pocket, and strode out of the apartment; the Archbishop was too courtly or too timid to complain, and the whole transaction remained buried in silence. Another copy, it is said, had been deposited with the Duke of Brunswick, but His Highness was silenced by a well timed subsidy; and Lord Chesterfield, who married Lady Walsingham in 1733, and who threatened a suit in Chancery for her supposed legacy, received, it is reported, in lieu of it, the sum of 20,000*l.**

* Walpole's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 459., and Reminiscences, Works, vol. iv. p. 295. In her later years, Lady Suffolk lived in a villa close to Horace Walpole's; and this old woman (I mean the former) communicated many curious anecdotes.

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GEORGE the Second was born in 1683, and had married in 1705 Princess Caroline of Anspach, by whom he had four daughters and two sons; Frederick Prince of Wales, born in 1707, and William Duke of Cumberland in 1721. His parts, I think, were not so good as his father's, but on the other hand he had much less reserve and shyness, and he possessed another inestimable advantage over him, — he could speak English fluently, though not without a foreign accent. His diminutive person, pinched features, and frequent starts of passion, were not favourable to the Royal dignity, and his mind still less. He had scarcely one kingly quality, except personal courage and justice. The former he had highly signalised at the battle of Oudenarde as a volunteer, and was destined to display again as sovereign at Dettingen; and even in peace he was so fond of the army, and of military details, that his nickname among the Jacobites was the Captain. A love of justice was apparent in all the natural movements of his mind. But avarice,

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that most unprincely of all passions, sat enshrined in the inmost recesses of his bosom. Its twitches were shown on all occasions. His purse was often in his hands, not to give from it, but to feel, and count over.* An extreme minuteness and precision in keeping his private accounts saved him a little money, and lost him a great deal of time. "He has often told me himself," says Lord Chesterfield, "that little things affected him more than "great ones; and this was so true, that I have "often seen him put so much out of humour at his "private levee, by a mistake or blunder of a "valet de chambre, that the gaping crowd ad- "mitted to his public levee have from his looks "and silence concluded that he had just received "some dreadful news." .... On the same principle, "he troubled himself little about religion, but jog- "ged on quietly in that in which he had been bred, "without scruples, doubts, zeal, or inquiry." Of acquired knowledge he had little, professing great contempt for literature; but he sometimes read history, and had an excellent memory for dates. His habits were very temperate, and so regular, that he scarce ever deviated from his beaten daily track; in the words of one of his courtiers, "he seems to "think his having done a thing to-day an unan-

* "Soon after his first arrival in England, Mrs. —— one of "the bed-chamber women, with whom he was in love, seeing "him count his money over very often, said to him, 'Sir, I can "'bear it no longer; if you count your money once more I will "'leave the room!'" Horace Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 153.

"swerable reason for his doing it to-morrow."* Business he understood well, and transacted with pleasure. Like his father, he was far too Hanoverian in his politics, nor wholly free from the influence of mistresses. But his reign of thirty-three years deserves this praise, — that it never once invaded the rights of the nation, nor harshly enforced the prerogatives of the Crown; — that its last period was illumined by the glories of Wolfe and of Chatham; — and that it left the dynasty secure, the constitution unimpaired, and the people prosperous.

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Queen Caroline had been handsome in her youth, and to the last retained great expression in her countenance, and sweetness in her smile. Her character was without a blemish, and her conduct always marked by judgment and good sense. During the violent quarrels between her husband and his father, she had behaved so prudently that she equally retained the affection of the first and the esteem of the latter. With the nation also she was more popular than any other member of her family, till George the Third. Her manner most happily combined the Royal dignity with female grace, and her conversation was agreeable in all its varieties, from mimicry and repartee up to metaphysics. In fact, her only faults were those of a Philaminte or a Belise.† She was fond of talking on all learned

* Lord Hervey to Horace Walpole, October 31. 1735.

† See Molière — Les Femmes Savantes.

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subjects, and understood something of a few. Her toilet was a strange medley: prayers, and sometimes a sermon, were read; tattle and gossip succeeded; metaphysics found a place; the head-dress was not forgotten; divines stood grouped with courtiers, and philosophers with ladies! On the table, perhaps, lay heaped together, the newest ode by Stephen Duck upon her beauty, her last letter from Leibnitz upon Free Will, and the most high-wrought panegyric of Dr. Clarke, on her "inimitable sweetness of "temper,"—"impartial love of truth," and "very "particular and uncommon degree of knowledge, "even on matters of the most abstract speculation."* Her great delight was to make theologians dispute in her presence, and argue controverted points, on which it has been said, perhaps untruly, that her own faith was wavering. But no doubt can exist as to her discerning and most praiseworthy patronage of worth and learning in the Church: the most able and pious men were every where sought out and preferred, and the Episcopal Bench was graced by such men as Hare, Sherlock, and Butler.† Even

* See his Dedication to his own and Leibnitz's Letters, pp. iii.—xiii. ed. 1717.

† Butler, author of the celebrated "Analogy," was then living obscurely in the country as rector of Stanhope. The Queen thought that he was dead, and asked the question of Archbishop Blackburne. "No, Madam," said His Grace, "but he is "buried!" The Queen took the hint, and put down Butler in her list for a vacant bishoprick, which he obtained after her death. See the Life of Secker, and Coxe's Walpole, pp. 551. and 554.

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to her enemies she could show favour, if they could show merit: through her intercession were Carte the historian and Lord Lansdowne the poet recalled from exile, and the former enabled to show his gratitude by renewing his intrigues for the Pretender.

In fact, so great was the influence of Queen Caroline over her husband, that neither in the Church nor in the State were any appointments made without her having at least some share in them, and during ten years she may be said to have governed England. But she was one of those "who if she rules him, never shows she rules." Her power was felt, not displayed. She had the art of instilling ideas into the King's mind, which after a time he found there, and believed to be his own. It was her plan always to affect to retire when the Minister came to the King, declaring that she did not understand business, and only remaining as it seemed to obey His Majesty's commands. By her management he never became jealous, nor she boastful, of authority. Nay, so ready was she to consult and comply with all his inclinations that she lived on a friendly footing with his mistress, one of her bed-chamber women. This was Henrietta, daughter of Sir Henry Hobart, and married to Mr. Howard, who afterwards succeeded to the Earldom of Suffolk. The Queen used to call her in banter her sister Howard, and was pleased to employ her at her toilet, or in menial offices about her per-

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son.* Lady Suffolk was placid, good-natured, and kindhearted, but very deaf, and not remarkable for wit. Though the King passed half his time in her company, her influence was quite subordinate to that of the Queen; she could obtain from George but little attention and less pay, and at length weary of a post so unprofitable as that of a favourite without favour, she left him and withdrew from Court in 1734.†

It seemed, however, so difficult to believe that the wife should be always preferred to the mistress, that Lady Suffolk received a large share of homage and solicitation. All the wits in Opposition courted her friendship, and celebrated her perfections. Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, the eloquent Bolingbroke, and the chivalrous Peterborough, formed a galaxy of genius around her, and she shines in history with a lustre not her own. Even the moody Swift declares, "I know no person of "your sex for whom I have so great an esteem,"‡

* Memoirs of Horace Walpole, vol. i. p. 513.

† Horace Walpole, and after him Archdeacon Coxe, state that Gay, Swift, and Chesterfield all fell into disgrace at Court by supposing Lady Suffolk's influence to be greater than the Queen's, and leaning only on the former. But the falsehood of these stories and surmises is well shown by the editor of the Suffolk Letters. (See especially his note, vol. ii. p. 84.) All the stories of Horace Walpole are to be received with great caution; but his Reminiscences, above all, written in his dotage, teem with the grossest inaccuracies and most incredible assertions.

‡ To Lady Suffolk, November 21. 1730.

and even her deafness becomes modesty and merit in the graceful lines of Pope.* CHAP. XV. 1727.

The despatch from Lord Townshend, announcing the King's death, reached London on the 14th of June. Walpole immediately hastened to the palace of Richmond, where he was told that the Prince, according to his usual custom, had retired to bed for an afternoon slumber. His Highness (so we may call him for the last time) being awakened, at Walpole's desire, started up and made his appearance half-dressed. Walpole knelt down and kissed his hand; but the King was at first incredulous, nor convinced of the truth, until Townshend's letter was produced. The minister then inquired whom his Majesty would be pleased to appoint to draw up the necessary declaration to the Privy Council, fully hoping that the choice would fall upon himself. "Compton," answered the King shortly, and Walpole withdrew in the deepest disappointment.†

Sir Spencer Compton, the second surviving son of the Earl of Northampton, was chosen Speaker in 1715, and a Knight of the Bath, on the revival of that Order. He and Lord Scarborough had been

* After a long panegyric, he concludes: —

"Has she no faults then, Envy says, Sir?
"Yes, she has one, I must aver, —
"When all the world conspires to praise her,
"The woman's deaf, and will not hear!"

These lines have also been ascribed to Lord Peterborough.

† Minutes of Conversation with Mr. Scrope, Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 519.

CHAP. XV. 1727.

the chief favourites of the King as Prince of Wales. He was respectable in his private, regular in his public, character. In the Speaker's chair, where form rather than substance is required, he had fulfilled his duty well, but the seals of office were too heavy for his hands. So little acquainted was he with real business, that when Walpole conveyed to him the King's commands, he avowed his ignorance, and begged Walpole to draw up the Declaration for him. Sir Robert willingly complied, and the Declaration which he wrote was carried by Compton to the King.

Seeing the weakness of his rival, Walpole with his usual sagacity said to his friend Sir William Yonge, "I shall certainly go out, but let me advise you not to go into violent opposition, as we must soon come in again." It was not easy (such was the jealousy between them) for any minister of George the First to stand well with the Prince of Wales. Pulteney, moreover, had taken care to repeat, or perhaps to exaggerate, some disrespectful expressions which Walpole had used in 1720.* Yet Sir Robert, on returning to office, had not

* According to Pulteney, this conversation passed on the reconciliation in the Royal Family in 1720. Pulteney asked Walpole what terms he had made for the Prince. "To which you answered, with a sneer, Why he is to go to Court again, and he will have his drums and his guards and such fine things." But said Pulteney, Is the Prince to be left Regent again as he had been when the King left England? "Your answer was this: "He does not deserve it. We have done too much for him, "and if it was to be done again, we would not do so much!" See Pulteney's "Answer to an Infamous Libel."

neglected to found his future, as far as he could venture without hazarding his present favour. He had obtained from the King the Garter for Lord Scarborough, and had often gratified with places other personal adherents of the Prince.* Above all, Walpole had now Queen Caroline on his side. He had gained her regard by his attentions, her esteem by his abilities; she perceived that no one could surpass him in financial skill, and that the late King was scarcely mistaken, when he said to her one day in chapel, that Walpole could change stones into gold!† At this crisis also, he fixed and secured her favour, by a well-timed offer to obtain from Parliament a jointure for her Majesty of 100,000*l* a year, while Compton only ventured to propose 60,000*l*. What better proof could be required that Walpole was fittest for Prime Minister?

CHAP. XV. 1727.

Under these circumstances, the triumph of Compton endured but a few days. Caroline, without openly opposing the King's resolution, represented to him the rashness and danger of dismissing a prosperous and well-established government; she made him acquainted with the incapacity of Compton, in applying for assistance to the very minister whom he displaced; and she added, that Walpole had agreed to carry through the House of Commons an increase of 130,000*l*. to the Civil List. Such arguments had their due weight with George,

* Count de Broglie to the King of France, July 24. 1724.
† Minutes of Conversation with Mr. Scrope.

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while Horace Walpole, arriving from Paris, artfully magnified to him the difficulties of foreign negotiations in new hands. Compton himself was now beginning to see the shoals and rocks before him. He could scarcely hope to contend at once with the Tories and with Walpole and his friends, in opposition; and to join the Tories at that juncture seemed a hazardous experiment. Thus his own sense of danger combining with the rising doubts of the King, he was induced to relinquish his commission, and the King to re-appoint the old ministers. No change took place in the Cabinet, except that Lord Berkeley, who had been leagued with Carteret and Roxburgh, was replaced at the Admiralty by Lord Torrington, a more devoted friend of Walpole. As for Compton, he was gratified with the title of Wilmington and the Presidency of the Council; and it might be said of him, as afterwards of Pulteney, that he shrunk at once into insignificance and an earldom.

The opposition, who had expected any thing rather than the re-appointment of Walpole, were stunned with the blow, and unfitted for resistance in Parliament. When Walpole proposed that the entire revenue of the Civil List, producing, as he said, 93,000*l.*, but in fact about 130,000*l.* beyond the sum of 700,000*l.* granted to George the First, should be settled on His Majesty, no voice but Shippen's was raised against it; and to the proposal of 100,000*l.* for Her Majesty's jointure, there was no dissent at all. This unanimous Parliament was

soon prorogued, and then, as the law requires, dissolved. CHAP. XV.

1727.

The Jacobites had always hoped that the death of George the First would be the signal of confusion, and the dawning of triumph to themselves. They were confounded at finding, on the contrary, a new spirit of loyalty displayed, a new expectation of prosperity excited, not only in the Parliament but amongst the people. The letter of the Earl of Strafford to James at that crisis is now before me.* He observes, that "the alteration here was so "sudden and surprising, that no man knew at "first what would be the consequence. The "people in the streets ran backwards and forwards "only asking news, and inquiring of one another "what was to be done. The sudden coming of "the Prince and Princess to town, and calling of "the Council, immediately turned the expectation "of the mob, on seeing the ceremony of a procla-"mation that night; who are always fond of any "show or new thing. They waited till midnight, "and were then told it was put off till next day, "when all things were performed without the least "disorder. The torrent is too strong for your "friends to resist, so they thought it their best "way to join with the rest to hinder distinctions, "that their party may be the stronger whenever "dissatisfaction breaks out again, which it is gene-

* Dated June 21. 1727. See Appendix.

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"rally thought will not be long. ..... I am convinced the same violent and corrupt measures "taken by the father will be pursued by the "son, who is passionate, proud, and peevish; and "though he talks of ruling by himself, will just "be governed as his father was. But his declarations that he will make no distinction of parties, "and turning off the Germans, make him popular "at present. ..... I find your friends already "desponding and complaining that they have "ruined their fortunes, and are not able to resist "this last effort of the Whigs." With still more bitterness does Lord Orrery, a few weeks later, inveigh against the "incapacity, stubbornness, and "haughtiness of the present King:"—"the universal corruption of our Parliament,"—"the "servility, ignorance, and poor spirit of our nobility and gentry, striving who shall sell themselves at the best price to this Court, but resolved "to sell themselves at any!" Yet, with all this, he is obliged to own that, "there do not yet "appear many discontented people!" *

When the Pretender received the news of the King's death, he was residing at Bologna. He had for a long time obstinately refused to conciliate his consort, by dismissing the titular Earl of Inverness, and turned a deaf ear to the unanimous representations of his friends, both at home and abroad. But his stubbornness being at length

* Lord Orrery to James, August, 1727. Appendix.

partly vanquished, he accepted Inverness's resignation, though with such marks and declarations of high regard*, as made it plain that his favour was fixed, and that he would ere long recal him. Nevertheless Clementina agreed to quit her convent at Rome, and to join her husband; and she was already on her road, when the tidings of the great event in Germany arrived. Perceiving the value of time, and the necessity of being near his friends at such a crisis, James the very next day set out from Bologna on pretence of meeting his Queen on her journey, and thus in concealment of his object; but turning short, at a little distance, he posted with all speed to Lorraine. CHAP. XV. 1727.

On arriving near Nancy, James despatched a messenger to Bishop Atterbury at Paris, and one also to Lord Orrery in London, while another of his most trusty servants, Allan Cameron, was sent to confer with Mr. Lockhart, who had been obliged to leave Scotland from some discoveries, and who was then at Liege. "Cameron told me," says Lockhart, "that the King, notwithstanding the "certainty he had of no foreign aid, and that "there was no scheme nor preparations at home,

* "You know the great and good opinion I have long had of "that Lord, and it is now, with reason, augmented by the sacri- "fice he will make of himself for the good of my family in this "conjuncture, which ought to increase his merit with all honest "men, and I hope to have yet soon occasion to show in his per- "son that I am incapable of abandoning my faithful servants." Circular Letter of James; Lockhart, vol. ii. p. 347.

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1727.

"inclined, and seemed resolved to repair to the "Highlands, and make the best stand he could "with such as repaired to him; and this measure "was approved by Lord Inverness, and his other "subjects attending him, with whom he advised. "Upon my inquiring if that Lord was with the "King, he shifted giving a direct answer; but "being put to it, he said he was not actually present "with him, but kept at a little distance, so as His "Majesty could send often to him, and have him "when he pleased."* When asked for his opinion in this momentous affair, Lockhart desired to consult Colonel Clephane, a zealous Jacobite, who had taken an active part in the Rebellion of 1715.† and was now living in exile. The answer of Cameron is another strong proof how rife were cabals and jealousies even at so small a Court as James's. He declined to send for Clephane, who he said was "of the Marrian faction;" and he did not yield till Lockhart had pledged himself for Clephane's honour and fidelity, and had inveighed against the folly of keeping up divisions at a crisis when all hands were necessary. Both Clephane and Lockhart agreed, that the project of going over to Scotland, without either a settled scheme or foreign succour, was utterly hopeless, and could serve only to lose the cause and ruin its adherents altogether. It appeared that Inverness and Dunbar, who ad-

* Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 359.

† See the first volume of this history, p. 233.

vised the scheme, meant themselves to stay abroad, the one attending the Prince, and the other managing affairs with foreign Powers; and Lockhart could not forbear remarking, that he should have had a much better opinion of these two gentlemen, if they had thought fit to run equal hazard with their King, in a project they so much approved.

The answers which James received from Paris and from London were equally discouraging, and urged him in the strongest manner to forbear so desperate an enterprize. "You will observe, Sir," writes Atterbury, "what a spirit of caution and "fear possesses your friends at home, and how "they dread any alarm being given to the Govern-"ment, or taken by it..... It appears that nothing "is to be expected from them, without a foreign, "and a very considerable assistance..... It is "plain that the Tories at this turn hoped to get into "place, if not into power; and though they re-"solved to keep their principles and inclinations "if they had done so, I much question whether "they really would, or rather I am satisfied that "the bulk of them would not; and therefore it is "a happiness to you, Sir, that their aims have "hitherto been and will probably continue to be "defeated."*

Nor was the Pretender left quiet and undisturbed to mature his plans; on the contrary the

* Bishop Atterbury to James, August 20. 1727. Appendix.

CHAP. XV. 1727.

French government urged by the English, sent positive directions to the Duke of Lorraine to compel James to quit his territories. The Duke, who was little more than the vassal of France, durst not disobey, and wrote to James in his own hand, pressing him in the strongest manner to go out of his country in three days. "Thus," says James, "in "my present situation, I cannot pretend to do "any thing essential for my interest, so that all "that remains is the world should see that I have "done my part."* He determined however, by the advice of Atterbury, instead of crossing the Alps, to repair to the Papal State of Avignon. But even there the French influence was exerted to dislodge him. In the ensuing spring he was compelled to return to Italy, where he rejoined his consort, and seems to have become gradually reconciled with her. A German traveller who was at Rome in 1731, saw them living, to all appearance, in perfect harmony together, and speaks with high praise (as indeed all parties do) of Clementina's grace and goodness, her quick talents, and her never failing charity.† It is even said, but on no good authority, that she used to express her sorrow at having left her husband and retired to a convent.‡ The chief object of their contention, Inverness, was sent to a kind of exile at

* James to Atterbury, August 9. 1727. Appendix.

† Polnitz Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 60. ed. 1737.

‡ Account of the Funeral Ceremonies of the Princess Clementine Sobieski. Preface.

Avignon; but Dunbar still retained the chief influence at the little Court of the Pretender.

1728.

Meanwhile events in England were proceeding very far from favourably to his cause. The new Parliament, which met in January, 1728, displayed a ministerial majority even greater than the last. "On the first day," says Horace Walpole, "we had 427 members in the House, most of "them sincere and hearty friends, and in perfect "good humour." * Their choice for Speaker (Sir Spencer Compton being now a peer) fell unanimously upon Mr. Arthur Onslow, sprung from a family which had already twice filled the chair†, and endowed with high personal qualifications for that office. During three and thirty years did this accomplished man continue to preside over the House of Commons, with thorough knowledge of forms, and perfect impartiality of judgment; and even after his retirement he still contributed to the public service, by his ready advice and guidance to younger politicians.‡

The King's speech on opening the session lamented the tedious and still unsettled negotiations

* To Earl Waldegrave, January 24. 1728. Coxe's Walpole.

† See Parliamentary History, vol. i. p. 703; and vol. vi. p. 744.

‡ "It was permitted to the compiler of this work to visit that "excellent man in his retirement, and to hear those observ- "ations on the law and constitution, which, particularly in the "company of young persons, Mr. Onslow was fond of commu- "nicating." Hatsell's Precedents, vol. ii. Preface, p. ix. ed. 1785.

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with Spain, and the consequent necessity of continuing warlike preparations; but did not omit the usual professions of economy, and willingness to reduce the national expenses. Such professions, in fact, are frequently the most ardent where the supplies to be demanded are largest. To the address, in answer, Shippen moved an amendment, and inveighed against Hosier's expedition as useless and insignificant; for that we might have rifled the galleons at Carthagena, and plundered Porto Bello, and have had those riches in our hands to dispute with the Spaniards.* He was seconded by Wyndham; but their observations were so ill received by the House, that they did not venture on a division. Almost the first occasion when the opposition made a stand was when they had reason and justice completely on their side. It was proposed by Horace Walpole that the sum of 230,000*l.* should be granted for maintaining, during this year, 12,000 Hessians in the British pay—a measure quite unworthy the King of England, but very advantageous to the Elector of Hanover. If troops were wanted, could we not raise them at home? Or, if a similar step had been taken in the rebellion of 1715, amidst pressing and fearful danger, can it be urged that the precedent applied to orderly and settled times; and might we not quote against this motion the very words of its mover

* Mr. Tilson to Earl Waldegrave, February 2. 1728.

on another occasion, when he said that "little, "low, partial, Electoral notions are able to stop "or confound the best conducted project for the "public?"* Nevertheless, so strong was the party in power, that 280 voted with, and only 84 against them.

Of a similar tendency was a treaty just concluded with the Duke of Brunswick, stipulating a subsidy of 25,000*l.* a year to him during four years, whilst, on his part, he was to furnish, if required, 5000 men.

In this temper of the House a discussion between Walpole and Pulteney afforded a certain triumph to the former. Pulteney asserted that, in spite of the Sinking Fund, the public burthens had increased instead of diminishing since 1716. Such statements, enforced in an able pamphlet, and in several numbers of the "Craftsman," began to pass current upon the public. On the other hand, it was maintained by Walpole, in the House of Commons, that 6,000,000*l.* had been discharged since that year; and that, allowing for new debts, the decrease was still no less than 2,500,000*l.* Pulteney defended his calculations, adding, that he should be prepared to prove them in a few days, and would stake his reputation on their accuracy. Accordingly, on the 4th of March, there ensued a sort of pitched battle between the rival statesmen, when the state-

* Horace Walpole to Sir Robert, September 1, 1739.

CHAP. XV. 1728.

ment of Walpole was affirmed by a large majority, and afterwards embodied in a Report, which was laid before the King.

The opposition hoped to be more successful in calling for a specific account of so large a sum as 250,000*l.*, which was charged for Secret Service. Walpole gave the usual answer, that the public interest would suffer by the disclosure; and the debate was still proceeding when some important news arrived. The King of Spain, on learning the death of George the First, had determined not to ratify the preliminaries signed in his name, but without his authority, at Vienna. He hoped to see, not merely a change of administration but a change of dynasty follow the Royal decease in England; he expected, at least, great discord and divisions in the new Parliament: but finding the result quite otherwise, and unable to stand alone against the Hanover allies, his reluctance at length gave way. From his country palace he issued what was termed the Act of the Pardo, accepting the preliminaries with France and England, and referring further difficulties to a Congress, about to be held at Soissons. The express which brought this intelligence reached Walpole in the midst of his speech on the Secret Service; he immediately availed himself of this event, and having communicated it to the House, added, that the country would now be relieved from the burthen of its late expenses, and that he could assure the Members who clamoured for an account of the Secret Ser-

vice money, that it had been expended in obtaining that peace, of which the preliminaries were just signed. So much satisfaction did this news spread through the House, that the question was instantly called for, and passed without a division. In fact, to the end of this Session (I might almost say, of this Parliament) the ministerial numbers continued steady, and even increasing; and verified the shrewd saying, that a good majority, like a good sum of money, soon makes itself bigger.* CHAP. XV. 1728.

At the Congress, which opened in the month of June, the English plenipotentiaries were William Stanhope, Poyntz, and Horace Walpole. The business at Paris was intrusted to Lord Waldegrave, whom Horace Walpole praises for "a good "understanding:" but still more for what was most requisite under Sir Robert, "a supple and "inoffensive disposition."† At the Hague our interests were most ably conducted by the Earl of Chesterfield, one of the most shining characters of this age; whom Smollett, though with much party spirit, goes so far as to call the only man of genius employed under Walpole.‡

The Congress of Soissons, however, proved a worthy counterpart of the Congress of Cambray. It was a mere routine of forms — a dull accumulation of endless memorials and counter memorials, without leading to the decision of a single disputed

* Walpole's Letters to Mann, December 3. 1741.

† Coxe's Walpole, vol. iii. p. 8.

‡ History of England, book ii. ch. 4.

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point. A proposal for a provisional instead of a definitive treaty equally failed, and it became necessary to revert once more to separate negotiations. "It is evident to us all here," writes Townshend, "that this nation will not long bear this uncertain "state of things." * It was lamented in the King's Speech, when Parliament met again in January, 1729, "and I am not insensible," said His Majesty, "that some may be induced to think that an actual "war is preferable to such a doubtful and imperfect peace; but the exchange is very easy to be "made at any time!"

1728.

1729. Although the Session of 1729 was almost entirely engrossed with Foreign affairs, there are two other of its transactions that seem deserving of attention. The first was, the expression of the public joy and loyal congratulations to the King at the arrival of Frederick Prince of Wales. For some reason not very clear, but probably to gratify the Hanoverian party, the young Prince had never been allowed to visit England in the lifetime of George the First. He now came over at the age of twenty-one, a pledge of the Protestant succession, and not without qualities to captivate the multitude, who are always apt to love an heir apparent better than a King. I shall have occasion to show how soon this fair prospect was clouded and darkened by faction, and how scrupulously Frederick followed his father's example in caballing against him.

* To Mr. Poyntz, February 21. 1729.

Another affair this Session, in which the Court was less honourably mingled, was a motion for granting His Majesty 115,000*l.* to supply a deficiency in the Civil List. It afterwards appeared that in truth there was no such deficiency, yet the Minister persevered and carried the Bill by a large majority. The transaction was very painful to Walpole, and no less injurious to his public character; and he is said to have used every argument with the Court to dissuade it from urging the demand. We are told also that the resistance to it in the House of Lords was very strong, although (so strictly were their standing orders enforced) no report at all, however meagre, appears of their debates in this and the foregoing session. 1729.

Indeed, had it depended on the wish of the House of Commons, their debates also would have remained wholly unrecorded. A complaint being made to the House of one Raikes, a printer of Gloucester, who had published some reports of their proceedings, they passed an unanimous resolution on the 26th of February, "That it is an indignity to, and a breach of the privilege of, this "House for any person to presume to give in "written or printed newspapers any account or "minutes of the debates or other proceedings of "this House, or of any Committee thereof." And, "that upon discovery of the authors, printers, or "publishers, this House will proceed against the "offenders with the utmost severity."

The points on which it had been found most

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difficult to come to an understanding with the Spaniards were the possession of Gibraltar, and the claim of the English to cut log-wood in the Bay of Campeachy. The latter had, for some years, been contested by the Spaniards; in 1717 the Marquis de Monteleon had delivered a memorial against it, which was met by a representation from the Board of Trade, proving that the practice was of old standing, and of just right. This representation was now laid before the House of Commons, together with numerous petitions complaining of Spanish depredations, and every art was used to inflame the public mind, and to represent the Minister as tamely submitting to insult and careless of the national wrongs.

Gibraltar was a question nearly touching the Spanish pride. It is almost incredible what deep and deadly resentment had been raised in that haughty nation, who had extended their conquering arms so far, to see a fortress upon their own shores held and garrisoned by England. They viewed it with still more bitter feelings than the French had formerly our possession of Calais, and there was scarcely a Spanish statesman of this period who might not have applied to himself the saying of Queen Mary, and declared that when he died the word GIBRALTAR would be found engraven on his heart. They openly avowed, that until it was restored, there should be no amity with England —a truce, but no peace. Thus high is the spirit of the Spaniards, so keen are they to discern, and

so fierce to resent, even the slightest approaches to an insult! CHAP. XV.

The obstacles to a friendly intercourse with Spain, so long as we retained Gibraltar, were most strongly felt by General Stanhope on his coming to power, and he was also impressed with the idea that the fortress was of small value to England. The Opposition which afterwards urged the opposite arguments was at first not less loud in inveighing against a "barren rock" and "useless charge." The garrison was the cause of an increase in our standing army. The expense of its establishment was great and ill-regulated.* There was no English possession to protect in the Mediterranean except Minorca, which was fully adequate to its own defence. There was yet no precedent of one nation long retaining such a strong-hold on the shores of another. Under these circumstances, Stanhope formed a decided opinion as to the policy of yielding Gibraltar on certain conditions: he made this proposal to the King and to his colleagues, and obtained their acquiescence before he proceeded with it to Madrid in 1718.† Yet, while allowing considerable weight to his arguments, I must maintain that our national glory demanded the preservation of this conquest; and it is evident that at a later period our national interests would have suffered by its loss. 1729.

* Lord Bolingbroke to Lord Portmore, March 29. 1712.

† See the first volume, p. 460.

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It must be observed, however, that Stanhope never proposed an unconditional surrender; the doubt is only whether in 1718 he asked for any territorial equivalent, or whether he would have been satisfied with the accession of Spain to the Quadruple Alliance, coupled with (as was then required) large commercial advantages to our traders in South America.* Amidst the secrecy and obscurity of the negotiation, we cannot distinguish the exact terms of the offer. We find, however, that it was rejected by the Spanish Court; but that in the subsequent negotiations the French government, though without any express authority, again held out this tempting bait, and gave Philip hopes of prevailing on easy terms. Thus the honour of the Regent became in some degree engaged, and he warmly seconded the claim of Philip at the Court of England. But no sooner had Stanhope sounded the House of Lords upon the subject than the country caught the alarm. The cession on any terms became most unpopular — which in England is but another word for impossible. As Stanhope declares, in a letter to Sir Luke Schaub, from Paris, "We have made a motion in Par-"liament, relative to the restitution of Gibraltar, "to pass a bill, for the purpose of leaving to the "King the power of disposing of that fortress for "the advantage of his subjects. You cannot ima-"gine the ferment which the proposal produced.

* See a note to the first volume, p. 465.

1729.

" The public was roused with indignation, on the
" simple suspicion that, at the close of a successful
" war, so unjustly begun by Cardinal Alberoni, we
" should cede that fortress. One circumstance
" greatly contributed to excite the general indig-
" nation, namely, a report insinuated by the Oppo-
" sition, that the King had entered into a formal
" engagement to restore Gibraltar, which was
" deemed a sufficient ground to attack the mi-
" nistry. Many libels have been published to
" alarm the nation, and excite them rather to con-
" tinue the war, than to cede a fortress of such im-
" portance. We were accordingly compelled to
" yield to the torrent, and to adopt the wise reso-
" lution of withdrawing the motion; because if it
" had been pressed, it would have produced a con-
" trary effect to what is designed, and would per-
" haps have ended in a bill, which might for ever
" have tied up the King's hands. Such being the
" real state of this business, you will endeavour
" to explain to the Court of Madrid, that if the
" King of Spain should ever wish at some future
" day, to treat concerning the cession of Gibraltar,
" the only method of succeeding, would be to drop
" the subject at present. We are much concerned
" that France should have interfered on this occa-
" sion; the extreme eagerness which she testified
" was of great detriment. Some letters and
" memorials on that subject seemed even to
" threaten a rupture. The alarm was indeed so
" strong, that people began to suspect France was

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"meditating a change of system, and made Gibraltar a pretext to adopt other measures; and this was the cause of my coming to Paris."*

Stanhope's journey proved successful: the Regent was convinced by his statements, and promised not to join Spain in urging its claims prematurely. But it was not so easy for Schaub to prevail with the Spaniards. Their impatience grew so uncontroulable, that though the question was referred to the Congress to be held at Cambray, Stanhope made another effort in England in the autumn of 1720. He wrote from Hanover to lay before the Lords Justices the expediency of exchanging Gibraltar on the footing of some adequate equivalent.† The Lords Justices agreed to this plan; and the cession of Gibraltar seemed determined if the consent of Parliament could be obtained. But the project was again marred by the perverseness of the King of Spain, who refused to give Florida, and wished to gain Gibraltar without any equivalent whatever.

At this period of the transaction ensued the deaths of Stanhope and Craggs, and the consequent change of the English administration. Townshend, however, into whose hands the affair now chiefly came, followed in this respect the footsteps of his predecessor. Like him he desired the cession of the fortress, like him he dreaded the resistance of

* To Mr. Schaub, March 28. 1720.

† Earl Stanhope to Secretary Craggs, October 1. 1720. See Appendix.

the Parliament. Scarcely had he taken the seals, CHAP. XV. 1729.
when he received an application from the Court of Madrid, stating, in confidence, their difficulty with their own subjects, the peace being deemed in Spain highly dishonourable unless it included Gibraltar. They therefore requested, as an ostensible vindication of the treaty, a letter from King George, containing a promise of restoring the fortress some time hereafter. By advice of the two secretaries, Townshend and Carteret, such a letter was written by the King on the 29th of April, assuring His Catholic Majesty "of my readiness to satisfy you "with regard to the restitution of Gibraltar, upon "the footing of an equivalent, promising you to "make use of the first favourable opportunity to re-"gulate this article with consent of my parliament." But when William Stanhope delivered this letter to the King and Queen of Spain at Aranjuez, they made so many cavils and objections to the word EQUIVALENT, which, they said, would render the letter useless *, that, at their solicitation, George the First consented to write another letter on the 1st of June, omitting the clause in question.† It was the conviction of the Ministers that the letter, even thus mutilated, left the affair entirely to the discretion of Parliament, who might refuse the

* William Stanhope to Lord Carteret, May 29. 1721, N.S. Hardwicke Papers.

† See this letter in the original French. Commons' Journals, vol. xxi. p. 285.

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cession altogether, or demand any equivalent they pleased.

Philip, however, considered, or affected to consider, the promise as unconditional; and it was always thus represented in his negotiations. Nevertheless there seems reason to believe, that if the English Parliament could have been brought to approve the cession upon the footing of an equivalent, Philip would soon have consented to yield the latter. In January, 1722, William Stanhope writes from Madrid: — "It is very unfortunate that our "hands are tied as to Gibraltar, so as not to take "advantage of this immoderate desire the King of "Spain has to obtain it; for were it otherwise, "notwithstanding the pretended promise of it, I "am fully persuaded we might yet sell it for "double its worth in advantages to our com-"merce." *

At Cambray, numerous petty obstacles delayed the opening, and blighted the hopes, of the Congress. At Madrid the negotiations for Gibraltar continued to drag on with the usual slow pace of Spaniards, who, as they say themselves, are born doing business, pass their life in doing business, and die without having done any! † Yet

* To Sir Luke Schaub. Coxe's House of Bourbon, vol. iii. p. 22.

† "Nacimos arreglando, vivemos arreglando, y por fin mo-"riremos sin haber arreglado nada." See Mr. Slidell's Spain Revisited, vol. ii. p. 330.

Philip did not relinquish his pursuit. To gain this darling object was one of his motives for rushing so eagerly into the Vienna alliance, and he then peremptorily told William Stanhope, that the immediate restitution of Gibraltar was the only means to prevent a war. Stanhope answered, that at all events it could not be done without Parliament, which was not then sitting. "No!" exclaimed the Queen, who was present: "Why then let the "King, your master, return from Germany and "call a Parliament expressly for that purpose. "The matter once fairly proposed would not meet "with one negative in either House. Let this "short argument be once made use of; either "give up Gibraltar, or your trade to the Indies "and Spain, and the matter, I will answer for it, "would not admit of a moment's debate!" * Unhappily, however, the two Houses, not having the benefit of hearing this Royal reasoning, were not convinced by it; and Philip, finding his threats as unsuccessful as his entreaties had been before, at length laid siege to the fortress, as I have already mentioned, in 1727. The siege failed, and he signed the preliminaries at the Pardo; but still in discussing a definitive treaty, continued to claim the former promise, and to urge the expected cession.

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The views of the English Cabinet at this period

* William Stanhope to Lord Townshend, August 6. 1725. Coxe's Walpole.

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were still the same — anxious to pacify the Spaniards, but afraid to lose their popularity at home. In 1728 we find a letter from Mr. Poyntz to his patron, Lord Townshend, observing that "after we carry the point of Gibraltar the Spaniards "will leave no stone unturned to hurt our com- "merce and to distress us into compliance;" and that "the Catholic King and all true Spaniards "are animated against us by this single consider- "ation." Townshend, in answer, declares, "What "you propose in relation to Gibraltar is, certainly, "very reasonable, and is exactly conformable to "the opinion which you know I have always en- "tertained concerning that place. But you can- "not but be sensible of the violent and almost "superstitious zeal which has of late prevailed "among all parties in this kingdom, against any "scheme for the restitution of Gibraltar, upon "any conditions whatsoever; and I am afraid "that the bare mention of a proposal which carried "the most distant appearance of laying England "under an obligation of ever parting with that "place would be sufficient to put the whole na- "tion in a flame."*

Townshend had, indeed, good reason for his fear of parliamentary or popular resistance. From the Spanish complaints the Opposition had obtained a clue to the letter of George the First, in 1721; and

* Mr. Poyntz to Lord Townshend, June 9. 1728. Lord Townshend to Mr. Poyntz, June 14. 1728.

they now raised an outcry on two grounds; first, that there should be any idea of ceding the fortress at all—and, secondly, because, as they alleged, the ministry had disgraced the King and nation by breaking a solemn promise, however wrongly made, from whence they inferred that the war was unjust on the part of England, and that Philip was merely claiming his due. A motion to produce King George's letter was brought forward by Mr. Sandys, in February, 1727, warmly supported by Wyndham and Pulteney. Walpole replied that such a promise had, indeed, been made in a former administration, but that he could assure the House it was only a conditional promise, and void by the refusal of Spain to comply with the terms required; and that as to producing the King's letter, he held that the private letters of Princes were almost as sacred as their very persons. The motion was rejected by a large majority.

In 1729, however, the onset was renewed in the other House. No resistance was then made by the Ministers to produce the Royal letter, probably because it had already been published abroad. This document being laid upon the table, the Opposition, in order to thwart the Government and perplex the negotiations as much as possible, moved, "That effectual care be taken in any "treaty that the King of Spain do renounce all "claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, in plain and "strong terms." But a large majority decided for a counter-resolution: "That the House relies upon

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"His Majesty for preserving his undoubted right "to Gibraltar and Minorca." This resolution was communicated to the Commons in a conference; in that House also, Lord Malpas obtained the production of the King's letter, and a similar proposal to that of the Lords in opposition was made, but with similar defeat. The minority, however, mustered no less than 111, a larger number than they usually could at that period.*

The agitation of the public mind on this question, and the rising clamour against Spanish depredations, rendered it more than ever necessary to come to some conclusion of the long pending negotiations. Scarcely, therefore, had the Session closed, and the King set out on his first Royal journey to Hanover, than the Ministers determined to send once more to Spain the former ambassador, Mr. William Stanhope. His diplomatic skill was long tried, he was thoroughly acquainted with the Spanish nation, and his integrity was so highly esteemed by the Spanish monarch, that His Majesty used to say of him, "Stanhope is the only foreign "minister who never deceived me." The ambassador found the Spanish Court no longer at Madrid, nor in the stately palaces around it: their Catholic Majesties had wandered to the delicious plains of Andalusia, and now dwelt amidst the Moorish glories of Seville. The cause of this change was the same which influenced all others

* Parliamentary History, vol. viii. pp. 548. and 695.

at that Court — the ambition of the Queen. The King, her husband, was a prey to hypochondriac maladies, and often desirous of resigning his crown: he had effected that wish in 1724, and she had discovered, to her infinite alarm, that a similar scheme was nearly accomplished in 1728. It became, therefore, her great object to withdraw him from the neighbourhood of the Council of Castille, to whom any abdication must be first addressed, and by whose intrigues it might be sometimes promoted.* CHAP. XV. 1729.

It was therefore in Andalusia that, on the 9th of November, William Stanhope, after innumerable difficulties, signed the celebrated treaty of Seville. The terms were highly advantageous to his countrymen. It was a defensive alliance between England, Spain, and France, to which Holland subsequently acceded. After a confirmation of preceding treaties, and a stipulation of mutual assistance in case of attack, Spain revoked all the privileges granted to Austrian subjects by the treaties of Vienna, re-established the English trade in America on its former footing, and restored all captures, with compensation for the loss sustained. The Asiento was confirmed to the South Sea

* Mr. Keene to the Duke of Newcastle, August 1. 1733. According to Duclos: — "Sans aucune incommodité apparente "Philippe était quelquefois six mois sans vouloir quitter le lit, "se faire raser, couper les ongles, ni changer de linge..... "Dans des momens il se croyait mort, et demandait pourquoi on "ne l'enterrait pas!" &c. (Mém. vol. ii. p. 386.)

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1729. Company. Commissaries were to be appointed to determine the disputes as to the limits of the American trade, and as to the claims of Spain for restitution of the ships taken in 1718. Another article stipulated, that to secure the succession of Parma and Tuscany to the Infant Don Carlos, 6000 Spanish troops should be allowed to garrison Leghorn, Porto Ferrajo, Parma, and Placentia, instead of the neutral garrisons provided by the Quadruple Alliance. The question of Gibraltar was passed over in total silence, which, after the noisy pretensions of Spain, was equivalent to a public renunciation. Such, in fact, it was considered by Philip, who now, losing all hope of ever obtaining the fortress, attempted to cut off its communication with the main land, and constructed the strong lines of San Roque, across the isthmus.* The Spanish people, however, still continued to look with indignation on the British banners floating from the summit of the inaccessible rock, and for above half a century longer nursed an ardent ambition for its conquest.

1730. For the conclusion of this peace, and for his other services, William Stanhope was immediately

* Mr. Keene was afterwards instructed to remonstrate against these works. But he writes, May 20. 1731:—"I was assured "if the whole universe should fall upon the King to make him "desist, he would rather let himself be cut to pieces than con- "sent..... We might as well pretend to Cadiz as to the spot "where the line is." See Coxe's House of Bourbon, vol. iii. p. 240.

created Lord Harrington, and soon afterwards, as we shall find, appointed Secretary of State. In proportion to the satisfaction in London was the rage and resentment at Vienna; and a further mortification to the Emperor ensued in the next Session of Parliament; for, being deprived of his Spanish supplies of money, he attempted to borrow 400,000*l.* on his credit in London. The ministry immediately brought in and carried through a bill, preventing loans to foreign powers without licence from the King under his Privy Seal. It is quite certain, that had the government allowed the loan, the Opposition would afterwards have loudly inveighed against their supineness. Now, however, as loud a cry was raised against "a Bill of Terrors" — "an eternal yoke on our fellow subjects" — "an advantageous bargain to the Dutch."* "Shall "British merchants," answers Walpole, "be per- "mitted to lend their money against the British "nation? Shall they arm an enemy with strength, "and assist him with supplies?"

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The treaty of Seville was followed in a very few months by Lord Townshend's resignation. I have already more than once mentioned the misunderstandings between the brother ministers; and I need scarcely again advert to the jealousy of power in Walpole, to the violence of temper in Townshend. The former would brook no equal, and the latter no superior. Their constant bickerings

* Speech of Mr. Danvers. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 788.

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were often appeased by the mediation of Walpole's sister, Lady Townshend, or even of Queen Caroline; but unhappily the former died, and the latter, when she found a breach unavoidable, threw her whole influence into the scale of Walpole. Besides the general causes of coldness, there were, at this time, particular grounds of difference. In foreign affairs Townshend was much incensed against the Emperor, and would have pushed matters to extremity against him if not withheld by his colleague. At home he was disgusted with the timidity and captiousness of the Duke of Newcastle, and wished him to be removed in favour of Chesterfield. Another cause of irritation in the Session of 1730 was the Pension Bill — a measure proposed by Mr. Sandys, and supported by the whole Opposition, to disable all persons from sitting in Parliament who had any pension, or any offices held in trust for them, and to require every member to swear that he had not. In the King's private notes this is termed "a "villainous Bill" — which should be "torn to "pieces in every particular."* But Walpole, though he entertained the same opinion of it, would not run the hazard of unpopularity by taking an active part against it, and he allowed it to pass the House of Commons, knowing that it would be thrown out by the House of Lords. Such, indeed,

* The King to Lord Townshend, March, 1730. Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 537.

was the policy which he pursued with respect to this bill during his whole remaining administration; for so strong a weapon of attack was not allowed to rust in the scabbard, and the measure was brought forward again and again by the party out of power. Townshend, on the other hand, complained that the odium of the rejection should be cast solely upon the House of Lords; and foretold, as the event really proved, that the petty manœuvre of Walpole would be soon seen through, and that the Minister would incur even more unpopularity by his disguised, than by a manly and avowed resistance.

Complaint and recrimination were, however, useless. "It has always," says the great Duke of Marlborough *, "been my observation in disputes, especially in that of kindness and friendship, that all reproaches, though ever so reasonable, do serve to no other end but the making the breach wider." Between Townshend and Walpole the train of enmity was now ready laid, and any spark would have produced the explosion. The decisive quarrel took place at the house of Colonel Selwyn, in Cleveland Square. Foreign affairs being discussed, and Townshend presuming to differ with Walpole, Sir Robert grew so incensed as to declare that he did not believe what the other was saying! Townshend, losing all patience, raised his hand, and these

* To the Duchess, August 26. 1709.

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old friends, near relations, and brother ministers, seized one another by the collar, and grasped their swords. Mrs. Selwyn shrieked for assistance; the men interposed and dissuaded them from going out, as they wished, to fight an immediate duel. But though the encounter was prevented, the friendship could never be restored.

Townshend, however, made another struggle to establish his power at Court, and obtain the dismissal of Newcastle. He had still considerable personal influence with the King; but finding it quite inadequate to maintain him against his all-powerful colleague, he resigned on the 16th of May. He left office with a most unblemished character, and —what is still less common—a most patriotic moderation. Had he gone into opposition, or even steered a neutral course, he must have caused great embarrassment and difficulty to his triumphant rival. But he must thereby also have thwarted a policy of which he approved, and hindered measures which he wished to see adopted. In spite, therefore, of the most flattering advances from the Opposition, who were prepared to receive him with open arms, he nobly resolved to retire altogether from public life. He withdrew to his paternal seat at Rainham, where he passed the eight remaining years of his life in well-earned leisure, or in agricultural improvements. It is to him that England, and more especially his native county of Norfolk, owes the introduction and cul-

tivation of the turnip from Germany. He resisted all solicitations to re-enter public life, nor would even consent to visit London. Once when Chesterfield had embarked in full opposition to Walpole, he went to Rainham, on purpose to use his influence as an intimate friend, and persuade the fallen minister to attend an important question in the House of Lords. "I have irrevocably determined," Townshend answered, "no more to engage in politics; I recollect that Lord Cowper, "though a staunch Whig, was betrayed by per- "sonal pique and party resentment to throw him- "self into the arms of the Tories, and even to "support principles which tended to serve the "Jacobites. I know that I am extremely warm, "and I am apprehensive that if I should attend "the House of Lords, I may be hurried away by "my temper, and my personal animosities, to "adopt a line of conduct which in my cooler "moments I may regret." Whatever may be thought of Lord Cowper's conduct, the highest praise is certainly due to Townshend's, and he deserves to be celebrated in history, as one of the very few who, after tasting high power, and when stirred by sharp provocation, have cherished their principles more than their resentments, and rather chosen themselves to fall into obscurity than the public affairs into confusion. Let him who undervalues this praise compute whether he can find many to deserve it!

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The peaceful accession of George the Second,

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—the happy conclusion of the Treaty of Seville, —and the consequent quiet throughout Europe, — dashed all the hopes of the English Jacobites. That party had never varied in its language. It had uniformly declared that any attempt without a body of troops would be hopeless, and would not receive their support; and such troops could no longer be expected from any foreign power. In the twelve years from 1728 to 1740, the Jacobite cause was evidently at a very low ebb; the Stuart Papers lose most of their importance, and the correspondence dwindles in a great measure from powerful statesmen down to low adventurers. What interest could the reader feel in tracing a succession of wild schemes formed by subaltern ambition, or nourished by religious bigotry, or what place can history assign to the reveries of some despairing exile, or persecuted priest? As the old leaders drop off, few others appear to supply their place. In 1728, we find Shippen praised for keeping what is called "his honesty," (that is, swearing one way, and voting the other,) "at a "time when almost every body is wavering."* The faults of the Government afterwards added again to the strength of the Jacobites; but of their new champions scarce any seem of note, besides Lord Cornbury, heir to the illustrious house of Clarendon, and member for the University of Oxford.†

Abroad, the Pretender's party lost at nearly the

* Mr. Morice to Bishop Atterbury, June 24. 1728.

† See his letter to James, May 17. 1733. Appendix.

same time the Earl of Mar, the Duke of Wharton, and Bishop Atterbury. Mar died at Aix-la-Chapelle in May, 1732, distrusted by all parties and regretted by none.—Wharton had been plunging deeper and deeper from one folly and extravagance to another. His first Duchess having died in England, he on a very short acquaintance, and contrary to the advice of all his friends, married Miss O'Byrne, the daughter of an exiled Irish Colonel, and maid of honour to the Queen of Spain, but he afterwards left the lady almost as suddenly as he had sought her. So completely did he renounce his country, that he joined the Spanish army as a volunteer, when engaged in the siege of Gibraltar. Next spring, we find him again in Italy, having an interview with the Chevalier at Parma, and writing him a letter in vindication of his conduct, and in reply to "some gentlemen, "who brand my zeal with the name of madness, "and adorn their own indolence with the pompous "title of discretion, and who without your Ma-"jesty's gracious interposition will never compre-"hend that obedience is true loyalty!"* Yet in June, 1728, only a month from the date of this letter, he writes from Lyons to Horace Walpole, to protest that "since his present Majesty's acces-"sion to the throne, I have absolutely refused to be "concerned with the Pretender or any of his af-"fairs. . . . . I was forced to go to Italy to get "out of Spain. . . . I am coming to Paris to put

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* Letter to James, May 21. 1728. Appendix.

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"myself entirely under your Excellency's protection, and hope that Sir Robert Walpole's good nature will prompt him to save a family which his generosity induced him to spare." *

To Paris, accordingly, Wharton came, and there renewed the strongest assurances to the ambassador. "He told me," says Horace Walpole, "that he had, indeed, lately passed through "Parma, where the Pretender, and several of his "adherents were with him; but that he had industriously avoided to speak with any of them. "... He then gave me, by fits, and in a rambling way that was entertaining enough, an account of several of his late motions and actions "while he was in the Pretender's service..... "And he concluded with telling me, that he "would go to his lodgings, which were in a "garret, where the Duchess of Wharton was "likewise with him, and would write me a letter, "and immediately, without making the least stay "or appearance here, retire to Rouen, in Normandy, and there expect the answer from England." †

This answer, however, was not favourable; the English ministers, who had already preferred against the Duke an indictment for high treason, refused to receive any application in his favour. At this intelligence Wharton immediately renewed his connection with the Jacobites, and his profession of the

* To Horace Walpole, June 28. 1728. Coxe's Walpole.

† Horace Walpole to the Duke of Newcastle, July 6. 1728.

Roman Catholic religion.* By this time he had squandered all his fortune in the wildest extravagance, and was compelled to solicit and accept a present of 2000*l.* from the Chevalier. His servants were still numerous, but ragged; his journeys frequent, but penurious.† But without following him through all the mazes of his eccentric course, it may be sufficient to state that he returned to Spain, where he held a commission in the army, and was appointed to command a regiment at Lerida. His health, however, was now failing; he derived relief from some mineral waters in Catalonia, but soon again relapsed at a small village, where he lay, almost destitute, till some charitable fathers of the Bernardine convent of Poblet removed him to their house.‡ There, after languishing a week longer, he died in their habit, and was interred in their cemetery. And thus, on the last day of May, 1731, amongst strangers, and without one friend to close his

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* Duke of Newcastle to Horace Walpole, July 1. 1728. Horace Walpole to the Duke of Newcastle, August 14. 1728.

† At last when he travelled back to Spain his whole stock was one shirt, one cravat, and 500 livres! (Memoirs of his Life, p. 45.)

‡ Campo Raso. Coment. vol. i. p. 52., and Memoirs prefixed to Wharton's Works (2 vols. 1732), written by a friendly but candid hand. Poblet is a magnificent monastery, called by Pons "The Escurial of the North." In the church are the monuments of Jayme el Conquistador, Raymond Folch, and other Spanish worthies. A friend of mine, who travelled there not long since, describes Wharton's tomb as "a plain slab in an "aisle, apart from the other monuments."

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eyes, this last heir to a most aspiring family and most princely fortune, ended his career of baleful wit, miserable frolic, and splendid infamy.

The Bishop of Rochester's mind was of a far different order. Had James been a man of talent, or able to appreciate talent in others, he would certainly have placed his whole confidence in that great and surpassing genius. But the same infatuation which had formerly wrought the dismissal of Bolingbroke soon undermined the credit of Atterbury. The faction of the Invernesses would bear no rival, even at such a distance as Paris, and looked upon every man of ability as a sort of natural enemy. Atterbury had too much spirit to endure ill treatment, or to yield services without receiving confidence. Only a few days before the death of George the First he wrote a letter to the Chevalier, in which he mentions his own loss of favour with admirable temper and dignity:—"It may, perhaps, be some ease to "you, Sir, if I first speak of that matter myself, "and assure you, as I now do, of my perfect "readiness to retire from that share of business "with which it has been hitherto thought not "improper to intrust me. I apprehend that, as "things have been managed, it will scarce be in "my power, for the future, to do any thing con-"siderable for your service, which I never hoped "to do otherwise than by the countenance and "encouragement you should be pleased, and "should be known, to afford me. That has, in

"many respects, and by various degrees, been withdrawn. . . . . What has given rise to this conduct I forbear to conjecture, or inquire. Doubtless your Majesty must have good and wise reasons. . . . . I acquiesce in them, Sir, whatever they are; and, from my heart, wish that all the steps you take towards your great end may be well adjusted and proper, and then it matters not much who has, or who has not, the honour of serving you." * CHAP. XV. 1730.

Atterbury's resolution was for some time delayed by the sudden decease of George, and by the consequent journey of James to Lorraine and afterwards to Avignon. But when, in the spring of 1728, the Pretender found himself obliged again to cross the Alps, the Bishop threw aside his negotiations at Paris, and chose Montpellier as the place of his retirement. Meanwhile his friends in England took care to put the best gloss upon his journey, saying, that he found himself too much pressed at Paris by the Jacobites, and had withdrawn on purpose to escape their solicitations and avoid their intercourse.† About this time also he seems to have formed a project to conciliate various parties in England in favour of the lineal heir — that the Jacobites should transfer their allegiance to the Pretender's eldest son — and that endeavours should be made to obtain for the young Prince a Protestant education — a scheme which

* Bishop Atterbury to James, June 16. 1727. Appendix.

† See the Preface to his Correspondence, p. vii.

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strongly shows the objections to the personal character of James.*

In the south of France, Atterbury continued for nearly two years, cheered by the hope of a visit from his beloved daughter, Mrs. Morice, who was languishing under a consumption, and for whom a milder climate was prescribed. But the Act of Attainder had made it penal for any British subject, even for Atterbury's own children, to visit him without the King's permission under the Sign Manual; this permission was always to be renewed, attended with high fees of office very burdensome to a narrow fortune, and thus it was not without humble solicitation, and large expense, that the dying daughter was enabled to rejoin her afflicted parent.

Mrs. Morice, whose strength was too far reduced for land-travelling, went by sea with her husband to Bourdeaux in October 1729, and then ascended the Garonne towards Toulouse, where Atterbury had advanced to meet her. The letters of Mr. Morice, at this period, to the Bishop, are most affecting.† We may trace in them what too many of us may have felt with those most dear to us —

* See a Memoir by Atterbury, Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 227. According to Horace Walpole this scheme was warmly promoted by Bolingbroke. (Memoirs, vol. i. p. 63.) In 1733, Sir Archer Croft declared in the House of Commons, that "the "Pretender was the more to be feared because they did not "know but that he was then breeding his son a Protestant!" (Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 1185.)

† See these letters in Atterbury's Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 222—238. ed. 1783.

how affection struggles against reason — how tenaciously the mind clings to the lessening chances of recovery — how slowly hope darkens into fear, and fear into despair! We may observe Morice, at first so sanguine in his expectations from change of scene, ere long compelled to see, compelled to own, the rapid wastings of the inexorable disease, until at length, when all human means appear to fail, he can only implore the Prelate's prayers! The anxious desire of Mrs. Morice was to reach Toulouse, and to see her dear father once more before she died. That wish at least was vouchsafed to her. With great courage she ventured all night up the Garonne, and reached her father at Toulouse early in the morning. But let me, for the closing scene, borrow Atterbury's own touching words: — "She "lived twenty hours afterwards, which time was "not lost on either side. For she had her senses "to the very last gasp, and exerted them to give "me in those few hours greater marks of duty "and love than she had done in all her lifetime, "though she had never been wanting in either. "The last words she said to me were the kindest "of all, a reflection on the goodness of God, which "had allowed us to meet once more before we "parted for ever..... She is gone, and I must "follow her. When I do, may my latter end be "like hers! It was my business to have taught "her to die; instead of it, she has taught me. I "am not ashamed, and wish I may be able to learn

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"that lesson from her. What I feel upon her loss "is not to be expressed, but a reflection of the "manner of it makes me some amends. .... Yet "at my age, under my infirmities, among utter "strangers, how shall I find out proper reliefs and "supports? I can have none but those with which "reason and religion furnish me, and those I lay "hold on and grasp as fast as I can. I hope that "He who laid the burden upon me (for wise and "good purposes, no doubt,) will enable me to "bear it in like manner as I have borne others, "with some degree of fortitude and firmness."* — Who, at such expressions, would not forget Atterbury's failings! Who might not observe how often it pleases Providence to call to itself the best and worthiest of its creatures in their youth, and leave only the less noble spirits to struggle on to age! And how true and touching seems the remark of the great poet of our time in speaking of one of his early friends — "He was such a good "amiable being as rarely remains long in this "world!" †

* Atterbury to Pope, November 20.; and to Mr. Dicconson, December 4. 1729. Mr. Evans who had attended Mr. and Mrs. Morice from England concludes a letter to his own brother by "a reflection I made at the time, that it was well worth my "while to have taken so long a voyage, though I was immediately to return home again, and reap no other benefit from "it than the seeing what passed in the last hours of Mrs. Morice!" (Nov. 30. 1729.)

† Lord Byron of Mr. Edward Long. See Moore's Life, vol. i. p. 96. 12mo. ed.

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If, however, there be any relief in such afflictions, it is, next to religion, to be found in employment either of business or study, and to these Atterbury had recourse. The favour of Inverness was now upon the wane, and the Pretender beginning to repent his folly in alienating by far the ablest man of his party. He seems about this time to have solicited Atterbury to return to Paris and resume the chief management of his affairs; the Bishop complied, but from the state of European politics could render no signal service. He held several conferences at Paris with the Duchess of Buckingham, an illegitimate daughter of James the Second by Mrs. Sedley, and now upon her way to Italy on a visit to her brother. This Dowager was one of the heads of the Jacobites in England—a sort of Tory Duchess of Marlborough, and a counterpoise to that illustrious relict—like her, full of pride and passion — but like her also, with enormous wealth to make herself respected. Atterbury used his influence over her to prevent the Duke of Berwick from giving a Roman Catholic preceptor to her son, the young Duke of Buckingham, and even quarrelled with Berwick when he found the latter insist on his design. He also induced the Duchess to exert herself in Italy, and complete the dismissal of the Invernesses from her brother's service. But Inverness, still hoping to recover his lost ground, had recourse to an expedient that strongly marks his base and unscrupulous character: he abjured the Protestant for the Roman Catholic religion.

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The very last letter which Atterbury ever wrote was to upbraid him with his apostasy — for so we may surely call a conversion in which conscience has no part.*

The studies of Atterbury, at this period, were, in some measure, forced upon him. Oldmixon, a virulent party writer of small reputation or merit, had made an attack upon him, Bishop Smalridge, and Dean Aldrich, as joint editors of Clarendon's History, accusing them of having altered and interpolated that noble work. Atterbury, as the only survivor of the three †, thought it incumbent upon him to write in their vindication and his own. Accordingly, in 1731, he published a temperate and satisfactory answer. The last sentence contains a prophecy on Oldmixon, which has been verified by time: — "His attack on me, "and on the dead, who he thought might be "insulted with equal safety, is no proof of a gene-"rous and worthy mind; nor has he done any "honour to his own history by the fruitless pains

* Atterbury to Lord Inverness, February, 1732. Corresp. vol. iii. p. ix. Inverness, it is said, had the effrontery to observe:— "Since I see nothing is likely to be done for the King at pre-"sent, I think it high time to take care of my soul!"

† Bishop Smalridge had died in 1719, and Dean Aldrich in 1710. The latter was a man not only of great learning, but of wit and jovial temper. His five reasons for drinking are well known: —

"Good wine — a friend — or being dry,—
"Or least we should be by and by,—
"Or any other good reason why!"

His Compendium of Logic is less agreeably remembered by Oxonians.

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"he has taken to discredit that of my Lord Cla-
"rendon, which, like the character of its author,
"will gain strength by time, and be in the hands
"and esteem of all men, when Mr. Oldmixon's
"unjust censure of it will not be remembered, or
"not be regarded!"

A copy of this vindication was sent by Atterbury to the Prince whom he had so zealously and so unhappily served, and his letter, on that occasion, reverts almost involuntarily to his own desolate feelings:—"Whilst I was justifying the Earl of "Clarendon's History, I own myself to have been "tempted to say somewhat likewise in defence of "his character and conduct, particularly as to the "aspersion with which he has been loaded, of "advising King Charles the Second to gain his "enemies and neglect his friends. A fatal advice! "which he certainly never gave, though he smarted "under the effects of it, and was sacrificed by his "master to please those who were not afterwards "found to be any great importance to his service. "....You may, perhaps, not have heard, Sir, that "what happened to my Lord Clarendon was the "first instance in the English story of banishing "any person by an Act of Parliament, wherein a "clause was expressly inserted to make all cor-"respondence with him penal, even to death. "Permit me to add, that I am the second instance "of a subject so treated, and may, perhaps, be the "last, since even the inflictors of such cruelties "seem now to be aweary and ashamed of them.

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"Having the honour to be like him in my suf-
"ferings, I wish I could have been like him too
"in my services; but that has not been in my
"power. I can, indeed, die in exile, asserting the
"Royal cause as he did; but I see not what other
"way is now left me of contributing to the support
"of it!"* Such are almost the last expressions of this most eloquent man; his infirmities were daily growing upon him, and he died a few weeks afterwards, on the 15th of February, 1732, in the 70th year of his age. How grievous is the fate of exiles! How still more grievous the party division which turns their talents against their country!

Even in his shroud Atterbury was not allowed to rest. His body being brought to England to be buried in Westminster Abbey, the government gave orders to seize and search his coffin. There was a great public outcry against the Ministers on this occasion, as though their animosity sought to pursue him beyond the grave; and undoubtedly none but the strongest reasons could excuse it. They had received intelligence of some private papers of the Jacobites to be sent over by what seemed so safe and unsuspected a method of conveyance.† This mystery they determined to un-

* Bishop Atterbury to James, November 12. 1731. Appendix.

† Coxe, in his Narrative, speaks of smuggled brocades, not of papers. But the letter from the Under Secretary of State, which he produces as his authority, speaks only of papers, and says nothing of brocades. Mem. of Walpole, vol. i. p. 175., vol. ii. p. 237. Boyer glides over this unpopular transaction, (vol. xlii. p. 499.)

ravel; and with the same view was Mr. Morice arrested and examined before the Privy Council. CHAP. XV. 1730.

Atterbury's own papers had been disposed of by his own care before his death. The most secret he had destroyed; for the others he had claimed protection as an Englishman from the English ambassador, Lord Waldegrave; that a seal might be placed upon them, and that they might be safely delivered to his executors. Lord Waldegrave declined this delicate commission, alleging that Atterbury was no longer entitled to any rights as a British subject.* The Bishop next applied to the French government, but his death intervening, the papers were sent to the Scots College at Paris, and the seal of office affixed to them, Mr. Morice obtaining only such as related to family affairs.

It may be observed, that the Government of George seems always to have possessed great facilities in either openly seizing or privately perusing the Jacobite correspondence. We have already seen how large a web of machinations was laid bare at Atterbury's trial. In 1728, Mr. Lockhart found that some articles of his most private letters to the Pretender were well known at the British Court, where, fortunately for himself, he had a steady friend; and on his expressing his astonishment, he

* Mr. Delafaye, Under Secretary of State, writes to Lord Waldegrave:—"As to your Excellency's getting the *scellé* put "to his effects ..... if your own seal would have done, and "that you could by that means have had the fingering of his "papers, one would have done him that favour." (May 11. 1732.) A most delicate sense of honour!

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was answered—"What is proof against the money "of Great Britain?" * The testimony of Lord Chesterfield, as Secretary of State, is still more positive. "The rebels, who have fled to France "and elsewhere, think only of their public acts of "rebellion, believing that the Government is not "aware of their secret cabals and conspiracies, "whereas, on the contrary, it is fully informed of "them. It sees two thirds of their letters; they "betray one another; and I have often had the "very same man's letters in my hand at once, some "to try to make his peace at home, and others to "the Pretender, to assure him that it was only "a feigned reconciliation that they might be the "better able to serve him. . . . . The spirit of "rebellion seems to be rooted in these people; "their faith is a Punic faith; clemency does not "touch them, and the oaths which they take to "Government do not bind them." †

Nothing certainly tended more than these frequent disclosures of letters to cool the ardour of the High Tory gentlemen in England, or, at least, to redouble their caution. They came, at length, to prefer, in nearly all cases, verbal messages to any written communication, and prudently kept themselves in reserve for the landing of a foreign force. Without it, they always told James that

* Lockhart's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 400.

† To Madame de ———, August 16. 1750. Orig. in French. (Works, vol. iii. p. 207.)

they could only ruin themselves without assisting him. It was a frequent saying of Sir Robert Walpole — "If you see the Stuarts come again, "they will begin by their lowest people; their "chiefs will not appear till the end."*

CHAP. XV. 1730.

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, Sept. 27. 1745.

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FROM the resignation of Lord Townshend the ascendency of Walpole was absolute and uncontrolled, and confirmed by universal peace abroad, by growing prosperity at home. His system of negotiations was completed by the second treaty of Vienna, signed in March, 1731, and stipulating that the Emperor should abolish the Ostend Company, secure the succession of Don Carlos to Parma and Tuscany, and admit the Spanish troops into the Italian fortresses. England, on her part, was to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, on the understanding that the young heiress should not be given in marriage to a Prince of the House of Bourbon, or of any other so powerful as to endanger the balance of power.* At home, various measures of improvement and

* This treaty was greatly promoted by the influence of Prince Eugene. He said to Lord Waldegrave: — "Je n'ai "jamais eu si peu de plaisir de ma vie dans les apparences d'une "guerre..... Il n'y a pas assez de sujet pour faire tuer un "poulet!" Lord Waldegrave to Lord Townshend, March 18, 1730. Coxe's House of Austria, vol. iii.

reform were introduced about this time. An excellent law was passed, that all proceedings of courts of justice should be in the English instead of the Latin language. "Our prayers," said the Duke of Argyle, "are in our native tongue, that "they may be intelligible; and why should not the "laws wherein our lives and properties are con- "cerned be so, for the same reason?" * The charter of the East India Company was renewed on prudent and profitable terms.† Some infamous malversation was detected in the Charitable Corporation, which had been formed for the relief of the industrious poor, by assisting them with small sums of money at legal interest; but which, under this colour, sometimes received ten per cent., and advanced large sums on goods bought on credit by fraudulent speculators. Penalties were now inflicted on the criminals, and Sir Robert Sutton, the late ambassador at Paris, being concerned in these practices, was expelled the House. An inquiry into the Public Prisons of London laid bare a frightful system of abuses; we find the Wardens conniving at the escape of rich prisoners, and subjecting the poor ones who

* Most of the lawyers were greatly opposed to the change. Lord Raymond, in order to throw difficulties in the way of it, said, that if the Bill passed the law must likewise be translated into Welsh, since many in Wales understood no English. (Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 861.) The great Yorkshire petition on this subject complained that "the number of attornies is excessive." (Ib. p. 844.)

† See Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 326.

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could not pay heavy fines to every kind of insult, oppression, and want. The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons is full of such cases:—thus one Captain Mac Pheadris, having refused to pay some exorbitant fees, "had irons put upon his legs, which were too "little, so that, in putting them on, his legs were "like to have been broken. . . . . He was dragged "away to the dungeon, where he lay, without a "bed, loaded with irons, so close rivetted that they "kept him in continual torture, and mortified his "legs." From such usage the prisoner became lame and nearly blind; he had petitioned the Judges, who, as we are told, "after several meet-"ings and a full hearing," agreed to reprimand the gaoler, but decided, with infinite wisdom, that "it being out of Term, they could not give the "prisoner any relief or satisfaction!"* . . . . Another Report declares that "the Committee saw in the "women's sick ward many miserable objects "lying, without beds, on the floor, perishing "with extreme want; and in the men's sick ward "yet much worse. . . . . On the giving food to "these poor wretches, (though it was done with "the utmost caution, they being only allowed at "first the smallest quantities, and that of liquid "nourishment,) one died; the vessels of his sto-"mach were so disordered and contracted, for

* First Report of the Select Committee, presented February 25. 1729.

"want of use, that they were totally incapable of "performing their office, and the unhappy crea- "ture perished about the time of digestion. "Upon his body a coroner's inquest sat, (a thing "which, though required by law to be always "done, hath, for many years, been scandalously "omitted in this gaol,) and the jury found that he "died of want. Those who were not so far gone, "on proper nourishment given them, recovered, "so that not above nine have died since the 25th "of March last, the day the Committee first met "there, though, before, a day seldom passed with- "out a death; and, upon the advancing of the "Spring, not less than eight or ten usually died "every twenty-four hours." *

Such atrocities in a civilised country must fill every mind with horror, and it is still more painful to reflect that for very many years, perhaps, they may have prevailed without redress. Thus, for example, in the session of 1725 I find a petition from poor insolvent debtors in the gaol of Liverpool, declaring themselves "reduced to a starving "condition, having only straw and water at the "courtesy of the serjeant." † How often may not the cry of such unhappy men have gone forth and remained unheeded! How still more frequently may not their sufferings have been borne in constrained or despairing silence! The benevolent exertions of Howard, (whom that family, fertile

* Second Report, presented May 14. 1729.

† Commons' Journals, vol. xx. p. 375.

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though it be in honours, might be proud to claim as their kinsman,) and still more the gradual diffusion of compassionate and Christian principles, have, we may hope, utterly rooted out from amongst us any such flagrant abuses at the present time. Yet let us not imagine that there is no longer any tyranny to punish, any thraldom to relieve. Let not the Legislature be weary in well doing! Let them turn a merciful eye not merely to the dungeon but to the factory, not merely to the suffering and perhaps guilty man but to the helpless and certainly unoffending child! For my part, I firmly rely on the progressive march of humanity. In a barbarous age it was confined to men of our country. In a half barbarous age it was confined to men of our religion. Within our own times it extended only to men of our colour. But as time shall roll on, I am persuaded that it will not be limited even to our kind; that we shall feel how much the brute creation also is entitled to our sympathy and kindness, and that any needless or wanton suffering inflicted upon them will on every occasion arouse and be restrained by the public indignation and disgust.

From this digression I return to the government of Walpole. — To detect and punish the cruelties of gaolers was undoubtedly a merit in any administration, and a happy consequence of tranquillity and leisure. In financial affairs, also, there was much cause for congratulation; the taxes were light, the trade thriving; the debt at least not increasing, and

the predictions of impending ruin rather less common than usual. In vain did Lord Bathurst declare with awful forebodings, that "one of our best "mathematicians has foretold, that if ever England "raises above five millions in a year it will infallibly "be exhausted in a few years!" * For once, the people did not mistake gloom and melancholy for depth of thought. In short, looking to the state of the country, every thing seemed prosperous, — looking to the state of the Cabinet, every thing submissive. So brilliant appeared the fortune of Walpole at this period, that an old Scotch Secretary of State in the time of William, named Johnston, having been on a visit to his native country, and seeing the state of affairs at his return, could not forbear from earnestly asking the Minister, "What "can you have done, Sir, to God Almighty to "make him so much your friend?" †

The two Secretaries of State were now Lord Harrington and the Duke of Newcastle — men of very opposite characters. Harrington, descended from a brother of the first Lord Chesterfield, was a man of very high diplomatic, but no Parliamentary, talents. He had skill and sagacity to unravel any negotiation, however perplexed, not readiness and eloquence to defend it. The observation of a Portuguese minister, that "Lord Harrington was "not accustomed to interrupt those who spoke to

* See Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 537.

† Mr. Delafaye to Lord Waldegrave, Oct. 15. 1731.

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"him*," paints his even and observing temper. An historian, writing shortly after his death, declares that "such was his moderation, good sense, "and integrity, that he was not considered as a "party man, and had few or no personal ene-"mies." † Nor, indeed, would it be easy, even from the party libels of the time, to glean any invective against him. By great sagacity he had overcome great obstacles in the way of his advancement. The King disliked him on account of a Memorial written in the hand of his elder brother, Charles Stanhope, presented to George the First by Lord Sunderland, and containing some bitter reflections on the Prince of Wales.‡ On coming to the throne, George the Second absolutely refused to employ the elder brother, and could only, by degrees, be reconciled to the younger. Walpole had also a prejudice against him, on account of his family; for though Sir Robert had professed a thorough reconciliation and friendship with Lord Stanhope, in 1720, he never forgave any contest for power, and his biographer informs us, that "he had taken an "aversion to the very name." ‡ Yet the pru-

* Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 332. Thus also Campo Raso says of him: — "Tenia el talento de unir la mayor actividad con el "exterior menos vivo." (Coment. vol. i. p. 35.)

† Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 50.

‡ Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 331. The memorial presented to George the First is distorted and exaggerated by Horace Walpole, *more suo*, until it becomes an incredible proposal of Lord Berkeley, First Lord of the Admiralty, to kidnap the Prince of

dence of Harrington surmounted all these difficulties, and raised him from a narrow fortune to the very highest offices. CHAP. XVI. 1731.

Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, born in 1694, was a nephew of the last Duke of Newcastle of the Holles family: he inherited its vast estates, of above 30,000*l.* a year, and the title was revived in his favour by George the First. From a very early age he applied to public life, and attached himself to the Whig party. When that party was rent asunder by the schism of 1717, Newcastle, though brother-in-law of Townshend, took the side of Stanhope, and accepted the office of Lord Chamberlain. But after the deaths of Stanhope and Sunderland he formed the closest connection with Townshend and the Walpoles. Through their influence he became Secretary of State in the place of Carteret; and though no man was ever more jealous of power, he was yet content to be a mere cipher under the brother ministers, and to fold his wings until he could expand them for a bolder flight.

No man, as I have said, loved power more, and certainly no man held it longer. For nearly thirty years was he Secretary of State; for nearly ten years First Lord of the Treasury. His character during that period has been, of course, observed

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Wales and convey him to America! Such fables were too common with this writer in his latter years. See Works, vol. iv. p. 289.

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and described by writers of every rank and every party; and it may well astonish us to find how much they agree in their accounts. His peculiarities were so glaring and ridiculous, that the most careless glance could not mistake, nor the most bitter enmity exaggerate them. There could be no caricature where the original was always more laughable than the likeness. Ever in a hurry, yet seldom punctual, he seems, said Lord Wilmington, as if he had lost half an hour in the morning, which he is running after the rest of the day without being able to overtake it! He never walked, but constantly ran; "insomuch," writes Chesterfield, "that I have sometimes told "him, that by his fleetness one should rather take "him for the courier than the author of the "letters." His conversation was a sort of quick stammer—a strange mixture of slowness and rapidity; and his ideas sometimes were in scarcely less confusion:—"Annapolis! Annapolis! oh "yes, Annapolis must be defended; to be sure "Annapolis should be defended! Pray where "is Annapolis?"* Extremely timorous, and moved to tears even on the slightest occasions, he abounded in childish caressës and in empty protestations. At his levees he accosted, hugged, clasped, and promised every body with a seeming cordiality so universal, that it failed to please any in particular. Fretful and peevish with his de-

* Horace Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 344.

pendents; always distrusting his friends, and always ready to betray them, he lived in a continual turmoil of harassing affairs, vexatious opposition, and burning jealousies. In business, Lord Hervey thus contrasts him to Sir Robert Walpole:— "We have one minister that does every thing "with the same seeming ease and tranquillity as if "he was doing nothing; we have another that "does nothing in the same hurry and agitation as "if he did every thing!" *

Yet in some points Newcastle might bear a more favourable parallel with Walpole. He built no palace at Houghton. He formed no splendid collection of paintings. He won no fortune in the South Sea speculations. In noticing his decease, Lord Chesterfield gives him this high testimony: — "My old kinsman and contemporary is at last "dead, and, for the first time, quiet. . . . After all "the great offices which he had held for fifty "years, he died 300,000*l.* poorer than he was "when he came into them. A very unministerial "proceeding!" †

Nor was disinterestedness the only merit of Newcastle. In private life, though a bundle of weaknesses, his character was excellent. He had very great parliamentary interest, both of his own and through his friends; and his brother, Henry Pelham, now Secretary at War, was rising into

* Lord Hervey to Horace Walpole, Oct. 31. 1735. Coxe's Walpole.

† To Colonel Irvine, November 21. 1768.

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high reputation as a speaker and a statesman. Newcastle himself was useful and ready in debate; always prepared for an answer, and with the same quality which the French have ascribed to his countrymen in battle—he never knew when he was beat! The same confident fluency is displayed in his despatches. But what chiefly maintained him in power was his court-craft, his indefatigable perseverance, his devoting every faculty of his mind to discover and attach himself to the winning side; and we might admire his skill and success in these respects, had he ever shown the least hesitation in emergencies to renounce or betray his friends. "His name," said Sir Robert Walpole, "is Perfidy."

The Opposition at this time was very weak in the House of Commons, and seemed still weaker from the slack attendance of its members. There appeared so little prospect of success that the Tories, losing spirit, could seldom be induced to remain in town, or appear in full force on any question. In fact, even at the present day, it may be observed, that many gentlemen of fortune seem to have two great objects in life—the first, to become Members of Parliament at any cost or exertion; the second, to stay away from the House of Commons as often and as long as possible! In 1730 Newcastle writes, "We look "upon the enemy to be quite demolished in the "House of Commons."* They were, in truth,

* To Lord Harrington, March 16. 1730.

at a low ebb. They could not deny that the Ministers had been very successful in their foreign negotiations; and were reduced to argue that this advantage had accrued by chance, or might have been attained a shorter way. According to Pulteney, "It is something like a pilot, who, though "he has a clear, a safe, and a straight passage for "going into port, yet takes it in his head to "carry the ship a great way about, through sands, "rocks, and shallows, and thereby loses a great "many of the seamen, destroys a great deal of the "tackle and rigging, and puts the owners to a "vast expense; however, at last, by chance, he "hits the port, and then triumphs in his good "conduct." According to Wyndham, "We have "been like a man in a room, who wants to get "out, and though the door be open, and a clear "way to it, yet he stalks round the room, breaks "his shins over a stool, tumbles over a chair, and "at last, rumbling over every thing in his way, by "chance finds the door and gets out, after abun-"dance of needless trouble and danger."* 1731.

In proportion, however, as the Opposition flagged in argument, they (as usual in such cases) increased in virulence. The Craftsman still continued his weekly attacks with unabated spirit and with growing effect. Other pamphlets also appeared from the same quarter, under the name of Caleb Danvers, and one of these lashed the character of Lord Hervey with such asperity, that Hervey called

* Speeches on the Address, January 13. 1732.

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on Pulteney to declare whether he was the author of the libel. After some altercation, Pulteney replied, that whether he were or not, he was ready to justify and stand by its truth: a duel ensued, and both combatants were slightly wounded.* Hervey was a young man of considerable wit and ability, but most infirm health, insomuch that he found it necessary to live only on asses' milk and biscuits. Once a week he indulged himself with an apple; emetics he used daily.† He attracted ridicule by the contrast between his pompous solemn manner and his puny effeminate appearance; and still more unhappily for himself, he attacked Pope, who, in return, has sent down his name to posterity as a monster of profligacy, and a "mere "white curd of asses' milk!"

Another pamphlet which Pulteney published in the same year, and in which he did not conceal his name, brought down upon him the full tide of ministerial resentment. He had disclosed some former private conversation between him and Walpole, in which Sir Robert had not spared the character of George the Second as Prince of Wales. However blamable this breach of confidence, Walpole ought not to have mixed the King in the quarrel; but he now prevailed upon His

* Mr. Thomas Pelham to Lord Waldegrave, January 28. 1731. Pulteney suspected Lord Hervey of having written a scurrilous pamphlet against him and Bolingbroke, called Sedition and Defamation displayed. The real author was Sir William Yonge.

† See a note to Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 362.

Majesty to strike Pulteney's name out of the list of Privy Councillors, and to order that the several Lords Lieutenant who had granted him commissions of the peace should revoke them.* It should be observed also, that Pulteney's breach of confidence was not without justification. For the libel which he was answering contained a like disclosure of other conversations between him and Walpole; and as the former declares in his preliminary address, "these passages of secret history, however "falsely stated and misrepresented, could come "from nobody but yourself."

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The year 1733 was marked by two great financial measures of Walpole, the first certainly wrong, but carried by large majorities; the latter as certainly just and wise, but repelled by the overpowering force of public indignation. The first was his proposal to take half a million from the Sinking Fund for the service of the current year. The Sinking Fund, established by Stanhope and Walpole himself in 1717, had been kept sacred during the whole reign of George the First. Since 1727, however, various encroachments had been made upon this surplus, and now, in 1733, it received an open attack. It was truly urged by the Opposition, and especially by Sir John Barnard, member for London, a man of the greatest weight on all financial questions, that this precious fund ought never to be applied to any other purpose than that of discharging debts, except in the case of some ex-

1733.

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 104.

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treme emergency; that to ease ourselves by loading our posterity is a poor, short-sighted expedient; "and the author of such an expedient," emphatically added Barnard, "must expect the curses of "posterity." — "The Right Honourable Gentle-"man," said Pulteney, "had once the vanity to "call himself the Father of the Sinking Fund; but "if Solomon's judgment was right, he who is thus "for splitting and dividing the child can never be "deemed to be the real father." But Walpole had a most irresistible argument for the country gentlemen: he declared, that if his proposal were not carried, he must move for a land-tax of two shillings in the pound—and his proposal was carried by a majority of 110. His biographer and warm admirer admits, on this occasion, "a dark speck in "his financial administration." * For the example once set was too tempting not to follow. Next year 1,200,000*l.* the whole produce of the fund was taken from it; in 1735 and 1736 it was mortgaged and alienated. Our debts were always augmented in moments of difficulty, never diminished in a period of peace, until the Sinking Fund was restored, in a different era and on a new foundation, by the genius and integrity of Pitt.

It may be observed, however, in justice to Walpole, that many persons in the reign of the two first Georges entertained an idea, however erro-

* Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 371. See also Sinclair's Public Revenue, part ii. p. 108.

neously, that the public debt was a main pillar of the established Government by interesting so many persons in its support, and were therefore extremely unwilling to take any measures for an effectual reduction.* This idea was founded on the fear of the Pretender, who it was thought if once enthroned in the kingdom would never acknowledge the debts contracted mainly to keep him out of it. In an allegory of Addison, accordingly, we find James introduced as a young man with a sword in his right hand and a sponge in his left.† Several Jacobites disclaimed any such intention, while the majority, no doubt, looked to it as an unfailing resource against all future financial difficulties. We may notice, also, that the fundholders, probably from the same apprehension, were very moderate and reasonable in their views, and that even the reduction of their interest in 1717 was not unpopular amongst them; at least one of their chief men, Mr. Bateman, told Lord Stanhope that he was glad the resolution had been taken, because though his interest was diminished, he should think his principal more secure than ever. ‡

Walpole's next financial measure was the famous EXCISE SCHEME. The excise duties, first levied in the civil wars, and continued, but curtailed

* Sinclair's History of the Revenue, part ii. p. 75.

† Spectator, No. iii.

‡ Bolingbroke on the State of the Nation. (Polit. Works, vol. iv. p. 150. ed. 1773.)

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at the Restoration, were progressively increased during the stormy reigns of William and Anne. The chief articles subject to them were malt, salt, and the distilleries: their average yearly proceeds rose, under William, to nearly one million; under Anne, to nearly two millions. No additional excise was laid on during the whole reign of George the First, except a small duty on wrought plate by Stanhope.* From the progress of consumption, however, they had come in 1733 to produce about 3,200,000*l.*† But, meanwhile, the frauds and abuses in other parts of the revenue had become so great, and so repeatedly forced upon the consideration of Walpole, as to turn his thoughts to the whole subject, and induce him to frame a comprehensive measure upon it.

Early intelligence reached the Opposition that some such plan was brewing, and they took care to poison and prepossess the public mind against it even before it was known. When the Sinking Fund was discussed, Pulteney pathetically cried, "But, Sir, there is another thing, a very terrible "affair impending! A monstrous project! yea, "more monstrous than has ever yet been repre-"sented! It is such a project as has struck terror "into the minds of most gentlemen within this "House, and of all men without doors!..... I "mean, Sir, that monster the Excise! That plan "of arbitrary power which is expected to be laid

* See the motive of this duty explained, vol. i. p. 443.

† Walpole's Speech, March 15. 1733.

"before this House in the present session!"* The sensible advice of Mr. Pelham, to wait till the plan was disclosed, and not "to enter into debates "about what we know nothing of," was utterly unheeded; and while the secrecy of the plan did not suspend the censures of the Opposition, it enabled them to spread throughout the country the most unfounded and alarming rumours respecting it. A General Excise is coming! was the cry; a tax on all articles of consumption; a burden to grind the country to powder; a plot to overthrow the ancient Constitution, and establish in its place a baleful tyranny! The Craftsman had scarcely words enough to express his terror and resentment; and his eloquent voice found a ready echo in the bosoms of the people. For the excise duties, partly from their burden and partly from their invidious mode of collection, were most highly unpopular. They were considered oppressive, and contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, — called sometimes the cause and sometimes the consequence of bad government; and these feelings which had arisen long before the scheme of Walpole, continued long after it. Perhaps the strongest proof of them is displayed by the invective of so great a writer as Dr. Johnson, in so grave a work as his Dictionary. In the first edition, published in 1755, the word EXCISE is explained as "A hateful tax levied upon commo-

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* Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 1203.

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"dities, and adjudged, not by common judges of "property, but by wretches hired by those to "whom excise is paid!"

Thus the public mind being highly sensitive, and easily excited upon the subject, and Walpole, as usual, paying little attention to the power of the press, there was a general ferment against the new scheme, even while its true nature and object remained entirely unknown. Many constituent bodies — amongst them the citizens of London — held meetings, and sent instructions to their members, entreating them to vote against every extension of the Excise Laws, "in any form or on "any pretence whatsoever." It was under these unfavourable circumstances, and after several preliminary skirmishes, that Sir Robert, on the 14th of March, disclosed his design in a temperate and masterly speech. He first complained of the common slander, that he had intended to propose a General Excise. "I do most unequivocally assert," said he, "that no such scheme ever entered "my head, or, for what I know, the head of any "man I am acquainted with. . . . . My thoughts "have been confined solely to the duties on wine "and tobacco; and it was the frequent advices I "had of the shameful frauds committed in these "two branches, and the complaints of the mer-"chants themselves, that turned my attention to a "remedy for this growing evil. . . . . I shall, for "the present, confine myself entirely to the to-"bacco trade." He next proceeded to detail

the various frauds on the revenue in this trade — frauds so frequent and so complicated, that while the gross produce of the tax was on an average 750,000*l.*, the net produce was only 160,000*l.* The remedy he proposed was, stating it briefly, to bring the tobacco duty under the laws of excise, and to effect some improvements in the latter. The same might afterwards be applied to the similar case of the wine duty; and thus would the revenue be increased, at the same time that the fair dealer was protected. A system of warehousing for re-exportation, if desired, was likewise to be instituted, "which will tend," said the Minister, "to make London a free port, and, by consequence, "the market of the world." By the increase in the revenue the land-tax would no longer be required, and might be altogether abolished. "And "this," added Walpole, "is the scheme which "has been represented in so dreadful and terrible a "light—this the monster, the many-headed monster, "which was to devour the people, and commit "such ravages over the whole nation!"

Nor did Walpole fail in his speech to answer or anticipate objections, such as "the increase of "revenue officers, which fear, interest, and affect-"ation have magnified into a standing army. This "standing army, allowing the proposed addition to "extend to tobacco and wine, will not, according "to the estimate of the commissioners, exceed "one hundred and twenty-six persons; that num-"ber, in addition to those already employed,

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"will do all the duty. In this computation, ware-
"housekeepers are, of course, not included; their
"number must be uncertain for the satisfaction
"and accommodation of the merchants. . . . . .
"Another objection is the power of officers to
"enter and search houses. This objection could
"not possibly have any weight without the aid of
"gross misconception or misrepresentation. All
"warehouses, cellars, shops, and rooms used for
"keeping, manufacturing, or selling tobacco are to
"be entered at the Inland Office. But no other part
"of the house is liable to be searched without a
"warrant and a constable, which warrant is not to
"be granted without an affidavit of the cause of
"suspicion. The practice of the Customs is now
"stronger; they can enter with a writ of assist-
"ance without any affidavit.—But why all this
"solicitude in behalf of fraud?"*

The reader has now before him a slight but I hope a clear outline of the ministerial measure. It might not be free from all objections, especially in its details, but it seemed to afford, at the very least, a solid foundation for subsequent improvements. To the country gentleman, the abolition of the land-tax was clearly a great boon. To the merchant importer, the turning of the duties on importation into duties on consumption was undoubtedly no

* Walpole's speech is given at length, and from original notes, in Coxe's Memoirs, pp. 385—399. It began at nearly one o'clock, and occupied two hours and a quarter. Mr. Delafaye to Earl Waldegrave, March 15. 1733.

less a benefit. The working classes were not at all concerned in the question, since the retailers already sold tobacco at the rate of duty paid. Thus, then, unless we are prepared to say, with Sir William Wyndham, that "in all countries, excises of every "kind are looked on as badges of slavery *," we shall rather join some of the ablest writers on finance of later times in approving the main principles and objects of Walpole's scheme.†

Far different was the language of the Opposition of the day. In answer to the complaint of previous misinterpretation, Sir John Barnard declared it "such a scheme as cannot, even by malice itself, "be represented to be worse than it really is!" Pulteney assailed it with raillery. "It puts me in "mind of Sir Ephraim Mammon in the Alchemist: "he was gulled out of his money by fine promises; "he was promised the philosopher's stone, by which "he was to get mountains of gold, and every thing "else he could desire, but all ended at last in some "little charm for curing the itch!" The eloquence of Wyndham was more solemn: he thundered against corrupt motives and impending tyranny, and evoked the shades of Empson and Dudley, those two unworthy favourites of old time. "But "what," he added, "was their fate? They had the "misfortune to outlive their master, and his son, as "soon as he came to the throne, took off both their

* Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 1302.

† See especially Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 358. ed. 1784, and Sinclair's History of the Revenue, part iii. p. 28.

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"heads!"—no obscure allusion to Frederick Prince of Wales, who was then present under the gallery.

On the other hand, Walpole was ably supported by Sir Philip Yorke the Attorney-General, who had already several times shone in debate, and was gradually rising into one of the greatest lawyers and statesmen that this country can boast. He had also the unexpected aid of Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, a very indifferent speaker, and somewhat open to ridicule in his dress and deportment, but a man of the highest benevolence and probity. Pope has summed up his character as one "who never changed his principle "or wig." In his opinions, he had that sort of wavering temper which is sometimes applauded as independence, sometimes censured as indecision, which inclined him alternately to each side, and which made his vote on any impending question utterly uncertain. In this case, he protested that he had come to the House undetermined, but been convinced by the powerful arguments of Walpole, and he accordingly rose to speak in favour of the scheme.*

But whichever might be thought the most eloquent or the most reasonable, there could be no doubt which was the most popular side. During the debate, the doors were beset by immense multitudes, all clamorous against the new measure, and convened partly, perhaps, by the efforts of the

* Lord Harrington to Lord Essex, March 15. 1733. See Appendix.

Opposition*, but still more by their own belief that some dreadful evil was designed them. To this concourse Sir Robert referred in his reply:—"Gentlemen may give them what name they think fit; it may be said they came hither as humble supplicants, but I know whom the law calls STURDY BEGGARS,"—a most unguarded expression! For though the Minister meant it only to denote their fierce and formidable clamours, yet it was ever afterwards flung in his teeth as though he had wished to insult the poverty of the people and debar their right of petition; and the phrase immediately became the war-whoop of the opponents to the bill.

At two o'clock in the morning, and after thirteen hours' debate, the House divided, and the numbers were found to be, for the measure 266, against it 205;—a victory, indeed, for the Minister, but a large and most alarming increase of the usual minority against him. As Sir Robert went out to his carriage some of the "sturdy beggars," highly exasperated, seized him by the cloak, and might have done him some injury, had not Mr. Pelham interposed.†

Two days afterwards, on reporting the resolutions carried in Committee, the debate was resumed

* "To my certain knowledge some very odd methods were "used to bring such multitudes hither: circular letters were "wrote and sent by the beadles in the most unprecedented "manner..... This I am certain of, because I have now one "of those letters in my pocket." Walpole's Speech in reply.

† An erroneous version of this anecdote in Coxe's Walpole is corrected by himself in his Memoirs of Pelham (vol. i. p. 10.); yet several subsequent writers have continued to follow the former.

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with fresh vigour on the part of the Opposition. Sir John Barnard made a most able practical speech; and Pulteney's was distinguished at least by the former quality. "It is well known," said he, "that every one of the public offices have already "so many boroughs or corporations which they "look on as their properties. There are some "boroughs which may be called Treasury boroughs; "there are others which may be called Admiralty "boroughs; in short, it may be said that nearly all "the towns upon the sea-coast are already seized "on, and, in a manner, taken prisoners by the "officers of the Crown; in most of them they have "so great an influence, that none can be chosen "members of Parliament but such as they are "pleased to recommend. But as the customs are "confined to our sea-ports, as they cannot travel "far from the coast, therefore this scheme seems "to be contrived in order to extend the laws of "excise, and thereby to extend the influence of "the Crown over all the inland towns and cor-"porations in England. This seems plainly to be "the chief design of the scheme now under our "consideration, and if it succeeds, — which God "forbid it should, — I do not know but some of "us may live to see some vain over-grown minister "of state driving along the streets with six mem-"bers of Parliament behind his coach!" However, in spite of such judicious predictions, the resolutions were carried by the same majority as before. Several other debates and divisions ensued before

the Bill came to a second reading, but the majority in these gradually dwindled from sixty to sixteen. CHAP. XVI. 1733.

During this time, also, the popular ferment grew higher and higher. Petitions poured in from several large towns. The Common Council of London indited the most violent of all, under the guidance of Alderman Barber, a noted Jacobite, who had been Swift's and Bolingbroke's printer, and was now Lord Mayor. The instructions sent by different places to their representatives to oppose the Bill were collected and published together, so as to stir and diffuse the flame; and the Minister was pelted by innumerable other pamphlets; various in talent, but all equal in virulence. "The "public," says a contemporary, "was so heated "with papers and pamphlets, that matters rose "next to a rebellion." * One or two extracts will show the prevailing spirit: — "I remember to have "read of some state, wherein it was the custom "that if any one should propose a new law, he "must do it with a rope about his neck, that in "case it were judged prejudicial, he might very "fairly be hanged up for his pains without further "ceremony. I heartily wish that law had been in "force amongst us." † — "Philip the Second hav- "ing a mind to settle the Inquisition in the seven- "teen Provinces, as he already had in Spain, gave "Cardinal Granvelle orders to establish that bloody "tribunal there; and the people making some re- "sistance against it, the Cardinal was guilty of

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 172.
† The Vintner and Tobacconist's Advocate, p. 1.

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"such inhuman oppression, that the people rose as "one man under the command of the Prince of "Orange and the Counts Egmont and Horn (to "whom the Cardinal gave the name of GUEUX or "Sturdy Beggars), and they, with seas of blood, in- "finite expense, and consummate bravery, drove "out their oppressors." *

The storm thus thickening around the Court, Queen Caroline applied in great anxiety to Lord Scarborough, as to the King's personal friend, for his advice. His answer was, that the Bill must be relinquished. "I will answer for my regiment," he added, "against the Pretender, but not against "the opposers of the Excise." Tears came into the Queen's eyes. "Then," said she, "we must "drop it!" †

Sir Robert, on his part, summoned a meeting of his friends in the House of Commons, and requested their opinion. The general sentiment amongst them was still to persevere. It was urged that all taxes were obnoxious, and that there would be an end of supplies if mobs were to control the legislature in the manner of raising them. Sir Robert, having heard every one first, declared how conscious he felt of having meant well; but that, in the present inflamed temper of the people, the act could not be carried into execution without an armed force; and that he would never be

* A Word to the Freeholders and Burgesses of Great Britain, p. 49. On the Belgian confederates nick-named *Les Gueux*, see De Thou's History, lib. xl. vol. v. p. 216. ed. 1734.

† Maty's Life of Chesterfield, p. 124.

the minister to enforce taxes at the expense of blood! * CHAP. XVI. 1733.

The voice of moderation having thus prevailed, when, on the 11th of April, there came on the order of the day for the second reading, Walpole rose, and moved that it should be postponed for two months; and thus the whole measure was dropped. The Opposition were scarcely satisfied with this hard-won victory, and wished to reject the Bill with the brand of their aversion upon it; but the general sense of the House was so evidently against the suggestion, that it was not pressed, nor even openly proposed. Throughout England, however, the news was hailed with unmixed pleasure, and celebrated with national rejoicings. The Monument was illuminated in London; bonfires without number blazed through the country; the Minister was, in many places, burnt in effigy amidst loud acclamations of the mob; any of his friends that came in their way were roughly handled; and cockades were eagerly assumed with the inscription LIBERTY, PROPERTY, AND NO EXCISE! But amidst the general joy their ill-humour against the Minister gradually evaporated, or rather spent itself by its own force; and their loyalty was immediately afterwards confirmed and quickened by the welcome intelligence that the Princess Anne, the King's eldest daughter, was espoused to the young Prince of Orange.

* This meeting is recorded by the respectable authority of Mr. White, M. P. for Retford, a supporter of Sir Robert. (Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 404.)

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Walpole congratulated himself on this new turn given to the public feeling, and determined to run no risk of stirring it once more against him. It was, indeed, his favourite maxim at all times, as his son assures us, QUIETA NE MOVEAS—a maxim bad under a bad constitution, but surely good under a good one—a maxim to be shunned at Milan, to be followed in London. When, in the next session, Pulteney insinuated that the Excise scheme was to be revived, "As to the wicked scheme," said Walpole, "as the honourable gentleman was pleased to "call it, which he would persuade us is not yet "laid aside, I, for my own part, can assure this "House I am not so mad as ever again to engage "in any thing that looks like an excise, though, "in my own private opinion, I still think it was "a scheme that would have tended very much to "the interest of the nation." * It is very remarkable, however, that, after his time, some of the least popular clauses of the Excise scheme were enacted, and that there was no renewal of clamour, because there was a change of title. So little do things weigh with the multitude, and names so much!

The conduct of Walpole in relinquishing, and declaring that he would never renew, his scheme, though it has not escaped censure in present times†, seems, on the contrary, highly deserving

* Parl. Hist. vol. ix. p. 254. An attempt was made that year to celebrate the anniversary of the 11th of April, with fresh bonfires and rejoicings, but it seems to have only succeeded in London. See Boyer's Polit. State, vol. xlvii. p. 437.

† Edinburgh Review, No. cxvii. p. 245.

of praise. It is true that he might still possess the power to carry the Bill by a small majority. It is true that the Bill would have been beneficial to the people. But to strive for the people's good in the very face of all their wishes and opinions, is a policy doubtful even in despotic governments, but subversive of a free one.—The next step of Walpole, however, is by no means to be approved. It was to seek out, and to punish, the murmurs in his own Cabinet. Surely, having yielded to the repugnance of the nation, Walpole might have forgiven the repugnance of his colleagues. Was it just that vengeance should survive when the scheme itself had fallen; or was it wise to thrust out statesmen into opposition, with the popular words NO EXCISE inscribed upon their banners?

Walpole found that a knot of powerful peers, holding offices under the Crown, had, some whispered, others openly avowed, their dislike to the Excise Bill. At their head was Chesterfield, who had greatly risen in public favour, from the skill and the success of his Dutch negotiations. "I "shall come over," he writes from the Hague, "well prepared to suffer with patience, for I am "now in the school of patience, here; and I find "treating with about two hundred sovereigns of "different tempers and professions, is as laborious "as treating with one fine woman, who is at least "of two hundred minds in one day!" * On his

* Lord Chesterfield to Dr. Arbuthnot, April 20. 1731: from Dr. Hunter's MS. collection.

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return, Chesterfield became Lord Steward of the Household, and in Parliament, a frequent and admired speaker; but did not display all the patience he had promised, when he found the whole power of the state monopolised by Walpole. The excise scheme appeared a favourable opportunity for Chesterfield to claim a share. His three brothers in the House of Commons voted against the Bill, and some sarcasms upon it were ascribed to himself. Yet it was generally thought by the public that the Minister would scarcely choose to dismiss abruptly a man of so much ability and influence; and it was even doubted, whether the King's confidence in Walpole still stood unimpaired. The public was soon undeceived. The Bill had been dropped on the 11th of April; on the 13th, as Chesterfield was going up the great staircase of St. James's Palace, he was stopped by an attendant, and summoned home to surrender the White Staff.* At the same time were dismissed, as being leagued with him, Lord Clinton, a Lord of the Bedchamber, the Earl of Burlington, Captain of the Band of Pensioners, and three northern peers, who enjoyed lucrative sinecures in Scotland, the Duke of Montrose and the Earls of Marchmont and Stair. Nay, more; the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham, holding not offices in the Court, but commissions in the army, were deprived of their regiments on no other ground, and by an unjustifiable stretch of the prerogative. Thus was the King's unabated

* Maty's Life, p. 125.

regard for his minister declared; but thus also was the Opposition most strongly reinforced, and a new and real grievance afforded for their declamations. CHAP. XVI. 1733.

To stem in some degree the formidable attacks that might now be expected in the Upper House, Walpole determined to send there two of his most eminent commoners, the Attorney and the Solicitor General. The former became Lord Chief Justice, with the title of Hardwicke, the latter, Lord Chancellor, with the title of Talbot. Of Lord Hardwicke I shall have often to speak hereafter. Lord Talbot is less conspicuous in history, only because he was more brief in life; he died, but three years afterwards, at the age of fifty-two; and, even amidst the strife of parties, was universally lamented as a man of the highest legal talents, of irreproachable character, and most winning gentleness of manners.

The year 1733 is also remarkable for the kindling of a new war, in which, however, England took no part, and of which, therefore, a slight sketch will be sufficient for my object. Augustus the Second, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, having died in February, his kingdom was immediately exposed to the usual evils of an elective monarchy. One faction called to the throne King Stanislaus, who had already reigned over them; another proclaimed Augustus, son of the late sovereign. The former was supported by his son-in-law the King of France, the other by the Emperor Charles and the Czarina Anne of Russia.

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Stanislaus set out from France in disguise, attended only by a single officer, and, after a series of romantic adventures, arrived safe at Warsaw, and was again hailed the rightful King of Poland. He had certainly on his side the greater part of the nation; but a large Russian army entering Lithuania carried every thing in favour of his rival. Stanislaus was compelled to shut himself up in Dantzick, where he was besieged by the Russian and Saxon troops, and from whence he made his escape with great difficulty, while the remainder of Poland submitting to the conqueror proclaimed King Augustus the Third.

The Emperor had been withheld from taking any direct part in this struggle by the remonstrances of Walpole; but, in spite of that prudent and pacific minister, he had so warmly, though indirectly, befriended Augustus, as to become involved in a war with France and Spain. The great object, at this time, of the Queen of Spain (the King I need scarcely mention) was to obtain a crown for her son, Don Carlos. This young Prince was already Duke of Parma, having been brought over two years before, with the convoy of an English fleet, on the death of the last Duke; and though his accession was for some months delayed by the Duchess-Dowager declaring herself to be pregnant, she at length admitted her hopes to be groundless, and Don Carlos was installed.* It

* See Boyer's Polit. State, vol. xlii. pp. 321. and 407. The English Admiral was Sir Charles Wager.

was now contemplated by the Spanish Court to seize this opportunity of making him King of Naples; and Fleury having been reluctantly drawn into hostilities, was induced to co-operate in this design. 1733.

Spain and France, thus agreed, obtained the assistance of the King of Sardinia at the very time when he was promising it at the Court of Vienna; and their united armies, suddenly bursting into the Milanese, over-ran the whole of Austrian Lombardy.* Charles, on his part, found himself almost without allies. Russia, having secured her own objects, quietly withdrew from the quarrel. Denmark was insignificant; Holland timorous; and the Government of England, embarrassed by the approach of a general election, was less than ever inclined to plunge into foreign war.

Under these circumstances, the campaign of 1734 was any thing but favourable to Charles, either in Italy or on the Rhine. At the battle of La Crocetta, near Parma, the Austrians lost several thousand men, and their commander, Count Mercy. A Spanish army assembling in Tuscany, under the Duke de Montemar, marched with Don Carlos to the conquest of Naples, where the Imperial troops were too few for effectual resistance, and where the natives, as usual, remained passive in the struggle. Montemar entered the capital without striking a blow, and afterwards completed 1734.

* Muratori, Annal. d'Ital. vol. xii. p. 189.

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his conquest by a victory at Bitonto, near Bari. Capua and Gaeta, into which the best Austrian troops had thrown themselves, surrendered to him after a protracted siege; Sicily, almost without opposition, yielded to his arms; and the young Spanish Prince was crowned King, under the title of Charles the Third—the same with which, on the death of his brother, in 1759, he succeeded to the throne of Spain.*

On the Rhine, the Emperor had called from his retirement, and placed at the head of his army, that great General who had already humbled France and rivalled Marlborough. But even the genius of Eugene could not cope with the superior numbers opposed to him. He saw the French, who had crossed the Rhine under Marshal Berwick, invest and attack Philipsburg without being able to make an effort for its relief. The siege was still proceeding when the French sustained a loss which the gain of no fortress could compensate,—their illustrious commander, Berwick, was killed by a cannon-ball. He died at nearly the same place, and in nearly the same manner, as the instructor in arms of his father, Marshal Turenne. "I have "seen at a distance," says Montesquieu, "in the "works of Plutarch, what great men were, in "Marshal Berwick I have seen what they are!"

* Muratori, Annal. d'Ital. vol. xii. pp. 205—209. He adds, "Fra tanti soldati fatti prigioneri ne i Regni di Napoli e Sicilia, "la maggior parte de gli Italiani, ed anche molte Tedeschi si "arrolarono nell' esercito Spagnuolo." See also Campo Raso Coment. vol. ii. pp. 66—116.

He left, indeed, behind him a most brilliant military reputation; and though his whole career was passed in the service of France, yet may England, as his birthplace, and as his father's kingdom, claim some share of his glory as hers, and while she deplores the defeat of her arms at Almanza, proudly remember that the blow was struck by an English hand! CHAP. XVI. 1734.

Berwick was 64 at the period of his death. Of late years he had wholly detached himself from the interest of his brother, the Pretender, who, so early as 1715, had been weak enough to treat him with coldness and suspicion.* In 1727 he had even hinted to the English Ambassador his wish to visit England and pay his respects to George the First†, but the visit was never paid. He always remained, however, the warm friend and patron of the exiled Irishmen who had entered the French service. Once it is recorded of him, that Louis the Fourteenth having become weary of his applications for his countrymen, and saying, "I hear of "nothing but these Irish officers!" — "Sir," immediately answered Berwick, "your enemies make "the very same complaint."‡

Berwick was succeeded in his command by the Marquis d'Asfeld, the same who had formerly served under him in Spain, and had there displayed

* Appendix, vol. i. p. xxvii.

† Horace Walpole to the Duke of Newcastle, April 28. 1727. Coxe's Lord Walpole of Wolterton.

‡ See Wolfe Tone's Life, vol. ii. p. 574. American ed.

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two qualities not often found together, great courage and great cruelty.* Philipsburg was taken; but the skill of Eugene curbed any further progress, and he ended the campaign in safety at last, if not in triumph. This was almost his last military service: he died at Vienna two years afterwards, full of years and of honours.†

The state of foreign affairs, and the "lamentable "and calamitous situation," for so it was termed, "of England‡," were a fruitful theme of declamation when Parliament again met in January, 1734. It was the last session under the Septennial Act, and the patriots accordingly strained every nerve to gain the popular favour, and to heap imputations upon their adversaries. From external policy they passed to events at home; they endeavoured to revive the clamours about the Excise, and justly inveighed against the tyrannical dismissal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham from their regiments. It was in allusion to them that Lord Morpeth, in committee on the Mutiny Bill, brought forward a motion "For the better securing the "Constitution, to prevent officers, not above the "rank of Colonels, from being removed unless by "a Court Martial or by address of either House of

* San Phelipe Coment. vol. i. p. 266.

† "When Prince Eugene's servants went into his chamber "this morning, they found him extinguished in his bed like a "taper. He dined yesterday as usual, and played cards at "night with his ordinary company." Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, April 21. 1737. Coxe's House of Austria.

‡ Pulteney's Speech, January 23. 1734.

"Parliament." A warm debate ensued, maintained with especial ability by Pulteney. "We know," said he, "that the late King William was once "applied to by some of his ministers to remove an "officer of his army because of a vote he had given "in this House, but that Prince, like a great and "wise King, answered:—I suppose the gentleman "voted according to what appeared to him just "and right at that time; I know him to be a "brave and a good officer, and one who has always "done his duty in his military capacity; I have "nothing to do with his behaviour in Par-"liament, and therefore will not remove him "from his command in the army.—His late Ma-"jesty was so sensible of the necessity of what is "now proposed, that he approved of a bill of this "very nature; the bill was actually drawn up, "and was to have been brought into the other "House by the late Earl Stanhope: this I know "to be true. I do not know how it was prevented, "but I know that His late Majesty cheerfully gave "his consent for the bringing it into Parliament."* Yet neither the eloquence of Pulteney as a speaker, nor his authority as the late Secretary at War, could prevail; so far from it that he and his party thought it prudent to shrink from a division.

In the Lords, a Bill for the same object was brought in by Marlborough, a great name on all questions, but especially on such as this. The

* Parl. Hist. vol. ix. p. 312.

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young Duke of Marlborough was the young Earl of Sunderland, and had succeeded to the former title, according to the limitations of the patent, in 1733, on the death of Marlborough's eldest daughter, Lady Godolphin.* A most brilliant speech for the Bill was made by Chesterfield, and "the "House," says a contemporary, "was charmed "but not convinced†; for, on dividing, 49 Peers "present voted for the motion, but 78 against "it." The Duke of Argyle, who supported the ministry, reflected with much severity on the Duke of Bolton's want of service; "it is true," said he, "there have been two Lords removed, "but only one soldier!"

But the great onset of the patriots was made for the repeal of the Septennial Act, a question well fitted to embarrass the Minister and please the mob, and which would have been urged at an earlier period had it not threatened a breach between the Tories and the Whigs in opposition. Many of the latter — Pulteney above all — had supported the Septennial Act in 1716, and were unwilling to incur the charge of inconsistency by now demanding its repeal. The skill of Bolingbroke, however, discerned the value of this topic as an engine of

* Coxe's Marlborough, vol. vi. p. 390. The young Duke afterwards joined the Court party at the persuasion of Henry Fox. "There," said the old Duchess Sarah, pointing to him one day, "is the fox that has stolen my goose!" H. Walpole's Works, vol. iv. p. 315.

† Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 223.

faction, and surmounted every obstacle to its immediate application: he urged Sir William Wyndham and his party to persist; he used his own influence and theirs over Pulteney, and at length prevailed. In fact, though Bolingbroke seldom comes before the historian at this period — though his persuasive voice was hushed in the senate — though his powerful pen was veiled beneath another name — yet his was the hand, mighty though unseen, which directed all the secret springs of Opposition, and moved the political puppets to his will. Nor let us condemn them. So eloquent his language, that it almost wins us to his sentiments. When he thunders against "all standing armies, "for whatsoever purpose instituted, or in what-"soever habit clothed — those casuists in red who, "having swords by their sides, are able at once to "cut those Gordian knots which others must untie "by degrees"* — who would still remember the necessity of national defence? Or who would suspect the many frailties of one who declares "no "life should admit the abuse of pleasures; the "least are consistent with a constant discharge of "our public duty, the greatest arise from it!" †

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The attack on the Septennial Act took place on the 13th of March, being moved by Mr. Bromley, son of the Secretary of State under Queen Anne, and seconded by Sir John St. Aubyn. The Whigs,

* Oldcastle's Remarks on the History of England, Letter 8.
† On the Spirit of Patriotism.

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in general, shrunk from speaking on this question, and even Pulteney was short and embarrassed. But the harangue of Wyndham was applauded, and not undeservedly, as a master-piece of eloquence and energy, and could only be rivalled by the splendid reply of Walpole which concluded the debate. I shall not weary the reader with any quotation of arguments which he may still so often hear re-echoed from the hustings or the House; I shall merely observe, that a large minority (184 against 247) supported the repeal of the act, and that Walpole, stung by the many taunts and insinuations thrown out against him, retorted in his speech with infinite spirit and readiness; and denounced Bolingbroke, in no very covert terms, as the real head of the faction leagued against him. "When gentlemen talk so much of wicked mi- "nisters — domineering ministers — ministers "pluming themselves in defiances — ministers "abandoned by all sense of virtue or honour — "other gentlemen may, I am sure, with equal "right, and I think more justly, speak of anti- "ministers and mock-patriots, who never had "either virtue or honour, and are actuated only "by motives of envy and resentment. . . . . Let "me, too, suppose an anti-minister who thinks "himself a person of so great and extensive parts, "and so many eminent qualifications, that he looks "upon himself as the only person in the kingdom "capable to conduct the public affairs, and there- "fore christening every other gentleman who has

"the honour to be employed by the name of "Blunderer! Suppose this fine gentleman lucky "enough to have gained over to his party some "persons really of fine parts, of ancient families, "and of great fortunes; and others of desperate "views, arising from disappointed and malicious "hearts; all these gentlemen, with respect to their "political behaviour, moved by him, and by him "solely, all they say, either in private or public, "being only a repetition of the words he has put "into their mouths, and a spitting out that venom "which he has infused into them; and yet we may "suppose this leader not really liked by any, even "of those who so blindly follow him, and hated by "all the rest of mankind. We will suppose this "anti-minister to be in a country where he really "ought not to be, and where he could not have "been but by the effect of too much goodness and "mercy, yet endeavouring, with all his might and "all his art, to destroy the fountain from whence "that mercy flowed. In that country, suppose "him continually contracting friendships and fa-"miliarities with the ambassadors of those Princes "who, at the time, happen to be most at enmity "with his own; and if, at any time, it should "happen to be for the interest of any of those "foreign ministers to have a secret revealed to "them, which might be highly prejudicial to his "native country, suppose this foreign minister ap-"plying to him, and he answering, I will get it "you; tell me but what you want, I will endea-

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"vour to procure it for you; upon this he puts a "speech or two in the mouth of some of his "creatures, or new converts, and what he wants "is moved for in Parliament. . . . . Let us farther "suppose this anti-minister to have travelled, and "at every Court where he was thinking himself "the greatest minister, and making it his trade to "reveal the secrets of every Court where he had "before been, void of all faith or honour, and "betraying every master he ever served!"—How must Pulteney and Wyndham have quailed before this terrible invective! How must it have wrung the haughty soul of St. John!

These Parliamentary skirmishes were the precursors of the great Electoral battle. It was fought, in little more than a month afterwards, with the utmost acrimony on both sides. Sir Robert himself made great exertions, and is said, on very good authority (his friend Mr. Etough's), to have spent no less than 60,000*l.* from his private fortune, which by this time had far outgrown its original bounds of 2000*l.* a year. Still more active, if possible, were the Opposition; they felt sanguine of a majority in their favour, while Walpole, on the other hand, expected his former numbers. Neither party succeeded altogether to their wish; a majority was obtained for the Minister, but by no means so large as at the last election. He still maintained his popularity in many places, his influence in many others; but the tide was every where upon the ebb, and in several counties

flowed against him. The Excise scheme still rankled in many minds; the standing army, or the Septennial Act, served likewise for a popular cry; and the peace of England, while all was war upon the Continent, instead of being hailed with praise, was branded as "tame tranquillity;" as an infamous dereliction of our old allies. In Scotland, Walpole's chief manager, Lord Isla, had become disliked, and several, even of the Whigs, joined in a complaint of undue influence in the election of the Sixteen Peers. "On the whole," writes Newcastle, "our Parliament is, I think, a good one; "but by no means such a one as the Queen and "Sir Robert imagine. It will require great care, "attention, and management, to set out right, and "to keep people in good humour." * 1734.

Yet when the new parliament met, in January, 1735, it appeared that the majority, though smaller, was quite as sure and steady as before; and the Opposition, after a few trials, lost hope and courage, and for a while again flagged in their exertions. The chief sign of their despondency, at this period, was the resolution of Bolingbroke to withdraw from England—a resolution which Mr. Coxe, without any proof, and, as I think, without any probability, ascribes to the philippic of Walpole.† The speech of the Minister, be it observed, was delivered a year before the departure 1735.

* Duke of Newcastle to Horace Walpole, May 24. 1734.

† Memoirs, p. 426.

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of his rival. But the fiery and restless spirit of St. John had long pined at playing an inferior part—at being shut out from the great Parliamentary arena—at merely writing where he should have spoken, and advising what he ought to have achieved. Till lately he had been buoyed up with visions of victory, and was willing to labour and to bear; but now the result of the general election dashed his hopes from the people, while the retirement of Lady Suffolk, at nearly the same moment, destroyed his expectations from the Court. Under these circumstances, veiling his mortification under the name of philosophy, he sought the delicious retreat of Chanteloup, in Touraine*, and the enjoyment of literary leisure. "My part is over," said he, "and he who remains on the stage after "his part is over deserves to be hissed off. . . . I "thought it my duty not to decline the service of "my party till the party itself either succeeded or "despaired of success. It is a satisfaction to me, "that I have fulfilled this duty, and had my share "in the last struggle that will be made, perhaps,

* Chanteloup was built by Aubigny, the favourite of Princess Orsini, under her directions, and with a view to her future residence. (St. Simon, Mem. vol. x. p. 97. ed. 1829.) Delille calls it in *Les Jardins*,

"Chanteloup, fier encore de l'exil de son maître!"

which might have been applied to Bolingbroke more justly than to Choiseul. — Bolingbroke had also another smaller *Château* near Fontainebleau, of which a most spirited description is given by the accomplished and high-minded author of Tremaine. (De Vere, vol. iii. p. 188—208.)

" to preserve a Constitution which is almost de- CHAP.
" stroyed. . . . . I fear nothing from those I have XVI.
" opposed; I ask nothing from those I have 1735.
" served." *

Yet although the motives I have mentioned for Bolingbroke's departure seem fully sufficient to account for it, there is reason to suspect that they were not the only ones. We have vague hints of some disagreement between him and Pulteney, who, it is said, advised him to withdraw for the good of their party. It is not improbable that the cabals with foreign ministers, in which Bolingbroke had engaged, and to which Walpole had alluded, may have been pushed so far as, at length, to disgust the Whigs in opposition, and turn them from their plotting leader. A letter, soon afterwards, from Swift to Pope, might have thrown great light on these suspicions; but it has been suppressed in the correspondence, and is only known to us by Pope's reply.† Bolingbroke himself, in a letter of 1739, alludes to some persons in opposition, who " think my name, and, " much more, my presence, in England, when I " am there, does them mischief." ‡ Writing to the same person, seven years later, he not very

* To Sir William Wyndham, November 29. 1735, January 5, and February 20. 1736.

† Pope to Swift, August 17. 1736. The close connection of Bolingbroke and the other opposition chiefs at this time with Frederick Prince of Wales, and their great hopes from him, seem incompatible with any Jacobite design.

‡ Marchmont Papers, vol. ii. p. 179.

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consistently indulges in an empty boast, that he did not leave England till his friends had some schemes in contemplation in which he would not join. *

It may, perhaps, have some bearing to this subject, that we find Pulteney about the same time, or soon afterwards, much depressed in spirits, and seeming to make advances to the Walpoles. The day before the House rose, some remarkable civilities passed between him and Sir Robert; and proceeding on a journey to the Hague, he sent a message to Horace, who, in consequence, came to see him, and was very cordially received. "I "endeavoured," says Horace, "to be easy and "cheerful, and to make him so; but his constant "complaint was lowness of spirits, and, in my "opinion, he is rather dead-hearted than sick in "body; and, in other respects, had a stranger "come into the room, he would have thought we "had never been otherwise than good friends." † Be this as it may, the Parliamentary warfare between them was certainly waged as fiercely as ever in the ensuing sessions.

* Marchmont Papers, vol. ii. p. 350. See also some acute observations in the Quarterly Review, No. cviii. p. 386.

† Sir R. Walpole to Horace, May 25. Horace to Sir Robert, June 10. 1736. Coxe's Walpole, vol. iii.

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WHILE such was the tranquillity in England, the hostilities abroad were dwindling into negotiations. The Emperor, chagrined at his losses, and foreseeing only fresh disasters should he continue to stand alone, made every effort to draw the Dutch and the English into his quarrel. He alleged positive engagements; he pleaded for the balance of power; entreaties, remonstrances, and threats were all tried in turn; he even menaced, unless he received some succours, to withdraw his troops from the Netherlands, and cede that country to the French. It may be observed, that even so early as 1714, Prince Eugene declared to Stanhope that Austria looked upon the Netherlands as only a useless drain, and accepted them rather for the sake of her allies than for her own *; but, in fact, during the whole of that century, these provinces were a constant source of uneasiness, vexation, and embarrassment to the Maritime Powers. Lord

* Appendix, vol. i. p. xlv.

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Chesterfield was, I believe, the first statesman who formed the plan to revive, as he termed it, the Duchy of Burgundy; that is, to unite Holland and Belgium, so as to construct a powerful and independent barrier against France. To this idea he alludes in one of his private letters, just after resigning the Seals.* It has since been carried into execution, under very favourable auspices, by the Congress of Vienna. Yet, above a century before, the genius of Marlborough could discern and declare the fatal obstacle which has lately marred and defeated that promising measure; and he writes to Lord Godolphin, from Flanders: "Not "only the towns, but the people, of this country "hate the Dutch." †

Another hope of the Emperor was founded, as in 1726, on divisions in England. He knew that the King himself, and a section of the Cabinet, headed by Harrington, were inclined to grant him assistance, though not desiring, or not daring, to oppose the ascendency of Walpole; he expected to induce this party to join the Opposition, and thus to overthrow the all-powerful Prime Minister. For this negotiation he availed himself of one Abbé Strickland, an unprincipled adventurer, who had intrigued for the Jacobites and against the Jacobites, and been alternately a spy of the Pretender, and of the English Government. In some of his juggling he had caught for himself the Bishoprick

* To Mr. Dayrolles, September 23. 1748.
† To Lord Godolphin, December 6. 1708.

of Namur; and he had even some hopes of attaining a Cardinal's hat: but in this new enterprise he reaped neither profit nor fame.* Arriving in England under a false name, he had, indeed, a secret conference with Lord Harrington, and a gracious reception from the King and Queen; but no sooner had his real objects been developed, than Walpole stood forth, and scattered these cabals with a word. At his desire the intriguing emissary was civilly dismissed from England, and Queen Caroline wrote to the Empress, contradicting the erroneous reports of Strickland, and positively declaring that England would not engage in the war. 1735.

Thus disappointed in all his flattering hopes, the Emperor at length, however reluctantly, consented to treat of peace under the mediation of the Maritime Powers. A plan of pacification was accordingly framed and proffered, with an armistice, to the several sovereigns at war. There being very skilful diplomatists on both sides, not a single point or punctilio was omitted, and the negotiation was spun out to an almost interminable length with forms and cavils. Yet the principal articles were early agreed upon; and, when finally

* Mr. Robinson, the English minister at Vienna, asked Count Tarouca how the Emperor could possibly send such a person with his commission, but the Count answered, "Que voulez "vous que l'on fasse? Quand on est pret à se noyer on s'at- "tache à tout!" Mr. Robinson to H. Walpole, November 13. 1734. (Coxe's Walpole, vol. iii.)

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matured into a treaty, were as follows:—Naples and Sicily were to remain to Don Carlos; on the other hand, he was to resign the possession of Parma, and the reversion to Tuscany. Augustus was acknowledged King of Poland. Stanislaus was to retain the Royal title, and to be put in immediate possession of the Duchy of Lorraine, which, after his decease, should revolve to the Crown of France. It was to Francis, the young Duke of Lorraine, that the Emperor was giving in marriage his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, the heiress of his states under the Pragmatic Sanction; yet it was not easy to persuade this young Prince to surrender his paternal dominions, the equivalent stipulated for them being only eventual and contingent, namely, the succession to Tuscany in the place of Don Carlos. However, the authority of the Emperor* and a pension from France overcame his unwillingness, and his consent became cordial before the final signatures, by the death of the old Grand Duke of Tuscany, the last of the Medicis, in 1737, when Francis was immediately admitted as his heir. France and Sardinia gave their guarantee to the Pragmatic Sanction, and the latter obtained Novarra, Tortona, and other neighbouring districts. Thus was the war concluded, and thus did France obtain, from the pacific Fleury, the province of

* The favourite minister Bartenstein told the Duke plainly before the marriage — "Monseigneur, point de cession, point d'Archiduchesse!" (Coxe's House of Austria, vol. iii. p. 162.)

Lorraine; a richer prize than had ever crowned the aspiring genius of Richelieu, or the crafty refinements of Mazarin. England should, perhaps, have viewed with jealousy this aggrandisement of her powerful neighbour, yet, unless she had herself embarked in war, could scarcely have prevented it; and so favourable were the terms of the preliminaries generally thought, that even Bolingbroke is said to have exclaimed, "If the "English ministers had any hand in it, they are "wiser than I thought them; and if not, they are "luckier than they deserve to be." * CHAP. XVII. 1735.

In another foreign quarrel, at the same time, England was more actively concerned. The servants of the Portuguese Minister at Madrid being accused of having rescued a criminal from justice, were themselves arrested and carried to prison. Complaints were made on both sides; redress given on neither. The diplomatists all took fire at this insult on one of their own order, and were eager to prosecute this important quarrel, both by memorials and by armies, to the last drop of their own ink and of others' blood. One of them, Senhor Azevedo, hastened over to England to claim succour for the King his master, under the Treaty of Alliance, and a war seemed fixed and unavoidable. But the prudence of Walpole warded off the blow: he sent a fleet of twenty-

* Lord Hervey to H. Walpole, January 3. 1736. Coxe's Walpole.

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1735. five ships of the line to the Tagus, under Sir John Norris, but gave him orders to act only defensively, and to urge moderation and forbearance on the Cabinet of Lisbon. At the time, the sailing of "so terrible a fleet," as Cardinal Fleury called it*, produced a strong effect, both at Paris and Madrid; the French exerted all their influence in Spain to prevent a collision; and at length, under the pacific mediation of Fleury and Walpole, harmony was restored between the two Peninsular Courts.

1736. In all these foreign negotiations the English ministers found in Fleury the same judicious and conciliatory, though sometimes a little timid, temper. They were also much assisted by the close friendship of Baron Gedda, the Swedish ambassador at Paris. But the case was far otherwise with M. de Chauvelin, the French Secretary of State, who laboured on every occasion to thwart the English councils, and to exasperate the Cardinal against them. He seems to have inherited the old maxims of Louis the Fourteenth; and was even engaged in a secret correspondence with the Pretender, as his own carelessness proved; for having, on one occasion, some papers to put into the hands of the English ambassador, he added, by mistake, one of James's letters to himself, which Lord Waldegrave immediately despatched by a messenger

* Earl Waldegrave to the Duke of Newcastle, June 1. 1735. (Coxe's Walpole.)

to England.* Walpole had endeavoured to treat him in what might then, perhaps, be termed a Parliamentary manner. He had instructed Lord Waldegrave to seize any favourable opportunity to offer him a bribe—a good round sum, he said,—"a compliment on the new year"—and not less than 5000*l.* or 10,000*l.*, so as to secure his future friendship.† But it appears that Chauvelin, though he showed some inclination to this disgraceful proposal, did not finally close with it, and became more than ever a declared enemy of England. Under these circumstances, Walpole availed himself of a secret correspondence which he had opened with Cardinal Fleury, to point out the animosity of Chauvelin, and its bad effects on the harmony between the two countries; and it was probably, in a great measure, to his remonstrances that we may ascribe the dismissal of Chauvelin, which occurred a few months afterwards.

In England, the session of 1736 is chiefly remarkable for an attempt in behalf of the Dissenters, and for the passing of the Gin and Mortmain Acts.—I have already related the endeavours of Stanhope, in 1719, to include the Test Act in his measure of relief to the Protestant Dissenters, and

* Earl Waldegrave to the Duke of Newcastle, October 11. 1736.

† Sir Robert Walpole to Earl Waldegrave, January 1. 1736. He shrewdly observes, that 5000*l.* makes a great number of French crowns.

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how long he had struggled against the suggestion of "a more favourable opportunity."* This more favourable opportunity had ever since been held out to them by Walpole, in appealing to their patience; but, like the horizon, it seemed to recede as they advanced. They had given the Minister their zealous support; in the elections of 1734, for example, they had issued several Declarations, pledging themselves to vote for his candidates†; and they had done so the more ostentatiously, as hoping to establish a claim to his future favour. Yet they still found Sir Robert immovable. Still did he reply to their deputations, that the time was not yet come. "You "have so repeatedly returned us this answer," at last said Dr. Chandler, "that I trust you will give "me leave to ask you, when the time will come?" "—If you require a specific answer," said the Minister, provoked into sudden frankness, "I will "give it you in one word—Never!"‡ Thus disappointed in the government, the Dissenters began to court the Opposition, and, in 1736, induced Mr. Plumer to bring forward a motion for the repeal of the obnoxious statute. Sir Robert was much embarrassed, wishing neither to forfeit their support nor that of the Church; but at length, after a wavering and evasive speech, voted against

* See vol. i. p. 491.

† Boyer's Political State, vol. xlvii. pp. 332. 436.

‡ See Coxe's Life, p. 608. No date is assigned to this anecdote; it must have happened either in 1736 or 1739.

them, in a majority of 251 against 123. For this conduct Walpole has been severely censured; yet, in justice to him, we should, perhaps, reflect, whether his ministerial power, great as it was, really sufficed to overthrow what most of the Churchmen of the time, however erroneously, respected as one of their principal bulwarks; whether, if not, it could be his duty to plunge, at all hazards, into a hopeless contest; and whether the Dissenters would not have acted far better, both for themselves and for their friends, had they shunned a struggle which afforded no chances of success, and which only retarded the march of their cause in popular opinion.

As a counterpoise to his vote on this occasion, Walpole gave his support to a Bill for the relief of Quakers in the recovery of tithes. The object was to render the proceedings against them less long and costly, and the Bill passed the House of Commons; but however well designed, it appears to have been loosely and hastily drawn. In the other House, both the Chancellor and Chief Justice (Lords Talbot and Hardwicke) pointed out its defects and opposed it, and under their guidance was the measure rejected. Walpole was much irritated at this failure, even on personal grounds, the Quakers in Norfolk being very numerous, and having always assisted him in his elections. His resentment was levelled especially against Gibson, Bishop of London, who had prevailed upon his Right Reverend brethren to declare against the

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measure, and who, in consequence, lost what he had hitherto enjoyed — the chief confidence of the minister in all ecclesiastical affairs.* Gibson was a prelate of eminent learning and talents, and so well known to be intended for the Primacy, on the next occasion, that Whiston used to call him the heir apparent to the See of Canterbury. But on the death of Archbishop Wake, the minister had not forgotten or forgiven the opposition to the Quaker's Tithe Bill, and the vacant dignity was conferred on Bishop Potter.

The Mortmain Act was a measure of which the necessity has often been proved in Roman Catholic countries, and seldom denied in ours: yet within the last hundred years we have seen but little cause to dread the excess of posthumous charity; and perhaps it might be said, that whenever the state of public feeling allows a mortmain law to be enacted, the same state of public feeling renders it unnecessary.†

The Gin Act was not a ministerial measure, but proceeded from the benevolent views of Sir Joseph Jekyll. Drunkenness, a vice which seems to strike deeper root than any other in uneducated minds, had greatly augmented, especially in London, during the late years of peace and prosperity.

* According to Mr. Etough, Sir Robert was once reproached in conversation with giving Gibson the authority of a Pope. "And a very good Pope he is!" said Walpole. (Coxe's Life, p. 479.)

† See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. ii. p. 273. ed. 18[illegible]

In this Session, the justices of Middlesex thought it their duty to present a joint petition to the House of Commons on this subject, stating that the evil had grown to an alarming pitch; "that "the constant and excessive use of Geneva had "already destroyed thousands of his Majesty's "subjects, and rendered great numbers of others "unfit for useful labour and service, debauching "at the same time their morals, and driving them "into all manner of vice and wickedness; and "that this pernicious liquor was then sold, not "only by the distillers and Geneva shops, but "by many other persons of inferior trades, by which "means, journeymen, apprentices, and servants, "were drawn in to taste, and by degrees to like, "approve, and immoderately to drink thereof." This petition having first been referred to a Committee, Sir Joseph Jekyll proposed to lay on gin, and other spirituous liquors, a tax so heavy as to amount to a prohibition for the lower classes, namely, a duty of 20*s.* on each gallon sold by retail, and 50*l.* yearly for a licence to every retailer. Neither Pulteney nor Walpole approved of the scheme; the former complained of the invidious distinction between the poor and rich: the latter foresaw that such exorbitant duties had a tendency to defeat themselves, and to encourage smuggling and fraud. Sir Robert made, however, no opposition to the passing of the Bill, merely predicting that his successors would be obliged to modify it, and providing that the Civil List should not

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lose in consequence. It was to the Civil List that the small duties hitherto levied had belonged, to the amount of above 70,000*l.* yearly; and this sum Sir Robert proposed should be granted to the King in compensation of the loss from the greatly reduced consumption of spirituous liquors. This clause, just and reasonable as it seems, was not carried without much altercation and difficulty in the House, or great clamour out of doors. To the lower classes the measure was already most unwelcome; and it was now exclaimed, that Walpole was ready to sell the comfort of the people to the highest bidder, and indifferent who might suffer so that the Revenue did not!

This busy Session having closed in May, the King proceeded to visit his German dominions, as he had likewise done in the preceding year, taking with him Horace Walpole as a deputy Secretary of State, and leaving the Queen as Regent in England. During his absence, the tranquillity which England had now enjoyed for so many years was slightly ruffled. A great number of poor Irish having come over in the summer, not merely worked at the hay and corn harvest as was usual, but engaged themselves at the Spitalfields' looms at two-thirds of the ordinary wages. The weavers, thus thrown out of employment, raised riots on several nights, and attacked a public house where these Irish resorted.* Similar riots seemed impending about Michaelmas

* Sir Robert Walpole to Horace Walpole, July 29. 1736.

Day, when the new Gin Act was to come into operation. Some Jacobites hoped to avail themselves of the popular ferment for their own ends, and had planned that gin and strong waters should for two evenings be given without payment to the mob, and the latter thus spurred to any violence which their leaders might direct. Circular letters had been sent, and the watchword fixed — "Sir Robert and Sir Joseph." * But the prudence of Walpole on both these occasions happily checked these riots without bloodshed or injury or danger. CHAP. XVII. 1736.

A riot at Edinburgh (the celebrated Porteous Mob) was both more singular in its origin and more serious in its consequences. Some years back, the real events might have excited interest: but the wand of an Enchanter is now waved over us; we feel the spell of the greatest writer that the world has yet seen in one department, or Scotland yet produced in any. How dull and lifeless will not the true facts appear when no longer embellished by the touching sorrows of Effie or the heroic virtue of Jeanie Deans! But let me proceed with the cold reality. Two noted smugglers from Fife, named Wilson and Robertson, being condemned to death for a robbery, were imprisoned together in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh, when they devised a plan of escape. They procured a file with which they rid themselves of their irons and

* Sir Robert Walpole to H. Walpole, September 30. 1736.

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cut through the window-bar; but Wilson insisted on making the first attempt, and being a man of unwieldy size, though of powerful strength, he stuck fast in the gap, and could neither advance nor retire. Next morning the prisoners were, of course, discovered and secured. Wilson, in whom an irregular life had not extinguished a noble nature, now lamented not so much his own fate as his comrade's. He felt, with bitter self-reproach, that had he allowed Robertson to go first, the other being slender and active would certainly have pressed through, and he resolved at all hazards to atone for the injury he had done him. It was then usual, it seems, for the prisoners at Edinburgh to be led out with a strong guard to attend Divine Service in a church adjoining to the gaol. There, accordingly, Wilson and Robertson were brought in the ensuing week under the custody of four soldiers. The service having concluded, Wilson suddenly sprang forward, and seized a soldier with each hand, and calling to Robertson to run for his life, secured a third by grappling his collar with his teeth. Robertson easily shook off the remaining soldier, and, leaping over the pews, made his escape, and was never again seen in Edinburgh.

A feat so daring in its design and so generous in its motive, attracted, of course, no small degree of public interest. Wilson was universally praised and pitied; and this very pity, perhaps, gave rise to a vague rumour that an attempt would be made

for his own rescue, on the day fixed for his execution, the 14th of April. The magistrates, thus forewarned, took every precaution for security, stationing a large detachment of the City Guard under the command of their captain, John Porteous, a man of great activity as a police officer, but accused of being not only strict but harsh and brutal in his official duties, and certainly most unpopular with the lower orders. The execution took place without any interruption or disturbance*, and it was not till the body had been cut down that some rabble began to attack the hangman, pelting him and also the soldiers with very large stones. Outrages of the same kind, though of less degree, were not uncommon on these occasions, and had usually been borne with patience; nor ought Porteous to have forgotten that the sentence was already fully executed, and that he should now attempt to withdraw his men: but on the contrary, losing all command of temper, he snatched a musket from one of the soldiers, and fired at the crowd; the soldiers followed his exam-

* "That deluded man (Wilson) died with great tranquillity, "and maintained to the hour of his death that he was most unjustly condemned: he maintained this in a debate with one of "the reverend ministers of Edinburgh. . . . . He admitted that "he had taken money from a collector of the revenue by violence, but that the officers of the revenue had, by their "practice, taught him this was lawful, for they had often seized "and carried off his goods, &c." (Speech of Mr. Lindsay, May 16. 1737. Parl. Hist. vol. x. p. 254.)

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ple, and another similar discharge took place as the detachment retired to the guard-house.

For this violence was Porteous brought to trial before the High Court of Justiciary, found guilty of murder by an exasperated jury of citizens, and condemned to death. But his sentence being referred to the Government in London, and considered by Queen Caroline, as head of the Regency during the King's absence, seemed to her and her advisers to admit of mitigation. He had given no original provocation; he had been wantonly assailed and had a right to defend himself; and though his defence was carried to a fierce and most unwarrantable pitch, and became itself an aggression, yet still his real crime appeared to fall short of murder, and his fit punishment, of death. From these considerations a reprieve for Porteous was sent down to Edinburgh. There, however, it was received by the public with one universal roar of indignation. The persons who had fallen were not all of them rioters, and the very humanity of the soldiers had turned against them; for many of them desiring merely to intimidate and not to hurt, had fired over the heads of the crowd, and in so doing had struck several persons of good condition, looking out of the neighbouring windows. This circumstance, if rightly considered, was an alleviation of their guilt, but in the popular estimation served rather to heighten it, from the natural compassion at the fate of entirely innocent and much respected individuals. On the whole, then, the ferment had

risen high among the citizens; and dark and ominous threats were heard, that even the Royal reprieve should not shelter Porteous from their vengeance. CHAP. XVII. 1736.

It was now the 7th of September, the day previous to that which had been appointed for the execution. Porteous himself, unconscious of his doom, and rejoicing in his approaching deliverance, had that very evening given an entertainment in the Tolbooth to a party of friends. But that festal evening was not to close without blood. A little before ten o'clock, a disorderly multitude began to gather in the low suburb of Portsburgh, evidently, from the first, under the guidance of cool and wary leaders. They beat a drum, and attracted fresh numbers; until, finding themselves strong enough for their purpose, they seized on the Westport, closed and barricaded it, and secured, in like manner, the ports of Canongate and Netherbow; thus cutting off the city from a regiment of infantry which was quartered in the suburbs. Their next step was to disarm the City Guard at their house, and thus obtain weapons for themselves. None of these pacific soldiers offered any resistance; their guns, halberts, and Lochaber axes were quietly relinquished by them, and eagerly assumed by the foremost of the rioters. It is remarkable that, though these City Guardsmen had been the instruments, at least, of the very slaughter which it was now intended to avenge, they were now permitted to slink away without the slightest injury or ill-treatment; so intent were

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the mob-leaders on one great object, and so well able, says Fletcher of Saltoun, to restrain the multitude from every wickedness but that which they had determined to perpetrate.*

It was not till these preliminary measures had been achieved, that the real object was disclosed in a fierce and general cry—"Porteous! Porteous! "To the Tolbooth! to the Tolbooth!" and in a few minutes more they were thundering at the gates of the gaol, and demanding that the prisoner should be given out to them. On receiving no answer, they prepared to burst open the doors; but the outer door was of such solidity and strength, as for a long while to defy their utmost efforts: sledge-hammers and iron crows were wrought against it in vain, even by those who might have, perhaps, most valuable experience in house-breaking. So much time was consumed, and so little progress made, that there seemed reason to hope that this obstacle alone might be sufficient to arrest the conspirators, and prove more effectual than the "sheep in wolves' clothing" of the City Guard.

When the tumult first began, the magistrates, it is said, were drinking together at a tavern of the Parliament Close†; although it was afterwards

* To the Duke of Newcastle, Sept. 16. 1736. Coxe's Walpole. Fletcher was then Lord Chief Justice Clerk. He had eminent talents; but we are told that "his schemes had but very little "credit, because he himself was often for changing them." (Sir J. Clerk's MSS. on Lockhart, ap. Somerville's Queen Anne, p. 204.)

† General Moyle to the Duke of Newcastle, Sept. 9. 1736.

given out, as more decorous to these great men, that they had assembled there to concert measures against the rioters. Mr. Lindsay, Member of Parliament for the city, who was with them, undertook the perilous task to carry a message from the Lord Provost to General Moyle, who commanded the troops quartered in the suburb, and who was now required to force the Netherbow port, and march into the city to quell the tumult. But Moyle, who had the recent example of Porteous before his eyes, refused to move against the people unless authorised by a written warrant from the magistrates; and Lindsay, on his part, was unwilling to convey any paper which, if found upon him, might probably cost him his life. There was afterwards, in discussing the transaction, much altercation between them as to what had really passed; the General declared that Lindsay had come to him drunk, while, on the other hand, Lindsay inveighed against his lack of alacrity*: but, be this as it may, no assistance was afforded by the King's troops. A similar message had also been sent up to the Governor of the Castle, but with a similar result.

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The magistrates, thus left to their own resources, sallied forth from their tavern, and marched to the scene of riot with such force as they could muster. But they found the outer line

* Earl of Isla to Sir Robert Walpole, October 16. 1736. He adds, "I have had great difficulty to prevent mischief between "General Moyle and Mr. Lindsay."

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firm and impassable, and their own halberts and Lochaber axes, now no longer in civic hands, were brandished against them; yet no further violence was used than seemed requisite to make them quietly return as they came. In like manner, the sedan chairs of ladies, hastening, even amidst this confusion, to their indispensable tea and cards, were stopped, turned back, and escorted home for their safety, with most remarkable civility and consideration for their feelings.* All these are additional proofs that the riot was no sudden ebullition of rage, but a settled plan of leaders above the common rank, well concerted and implicitly obeyed. Perhaps the strongest proof of all yet remains to tell. Is there any other instance of a riot, either in England or Scotland, in which the rioters willingly refrained from drunkenness?

The battering of the Tolbooth door had at length exhausted the strength, not the animosity, of the assailants; when a voice among them exclaimed, "Try fire!" Tar barrels, and other such combustibles, were immediately applied; a

* Sir Walter Scott says, "A near relation of mine used to tell "of having been stopped by the rioters and escorted home in "this manner. On reaching her own home, one of her attend-"ants, in appearance a *baxter*, or baker's lad, handed her out of "her chair, and took leave with a bow, which, in the lady's "opinion, argued breeding that could hardly be learned beside "the oven." Note to the Heart of Mid-Lothian, ch. vi. See also his excellent narrative, Tales of a Grandfather, Third Series, vol. ii. pp. 156—180.

large bonfire speedily arose, and a hole was burnt in the door, through which the terrified gaoler flung the keys. The mob now poured in, leaving the doors open for the advantage of the other prisoners, who, of course, did not neglect this opportunity to escape. But the ring-leaders steadily pursued their course to the apartment of Porteous, and broke through its locks and bars. What was their rage and disappointment to find it empty! The unhappy man, hearing the tumult and the shouts for his life, had endeavoured to save it by ascending the chimney, but his progress was arrested by an iron grating, which, as usual in prisons, was fixed across the vent. His place of concealment was too obvious for security; he was soon discovered, dragged down, and told to prepare for the death he had deserved; nor was the slightest attention shown either to his prayers for mercy, or to the offers of large sums of money with which he attempted to redeem his life. Yet, with all this sternness of the rioters, there was, as before, a strange mixture of forbearance: Porteous was allowed to intrust his money and papers to a friend (a prisoner confined for debt) in behalf of his family; and one of the conspirators, a man of grave and reverend aspect, undertook the part of clergyman, and offered such spiritual exhortations as are proper to a dying man. They then led their victim towards the Grass Market, the usual scene of public executions, and which, being the place of his offence, they determined should be

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also the place of his punishment. He refused to walk; but they mounted him on the hands of two of the rioters clasped together, and forming what in Scotland is termed, I suppose from irony, "the King's cushion." Such was their coolness, that, when Porteous dropped one of his slippers, they halted until it was picked up and replaced on his foot.*

Having reached the Grass Market, the rioters obtained a coil of ropes by breaking open a dealer's booth, and at the same time left a guinea in payment for it; another circumstance denoting that the ring-leaders were by no means of the lowest class. Their next search was for the gallows; but these being removed to a distance, they seized a dyer's pole, and proceeded to the execution of their victim. His dying struggles were long, but unavailing; the rioters calmly watched till life was wholly extinct, and then, quietly drawing in their outposts, dispersed without noise. The arms which they had taken from the City Guards they now flung away; the streets were left perfectly quiet; and at daybreak the scattered weapons and the suspended body formed the only tokens of the dreadful deed of that night.

The news of this outrage, being sent by express to the government in London, was received with no small astonishment and indignation. A riot so

* This slight but characteristic incident was told Sir Walter Scott by the daughter of a lady who saw it from her window. Note to the Heart of Mid-Lothian, ch. vii.

deliberate, orderly, and well-conducted, as almost to mock the formalities of a judicial sentence, seemed so high a pitch of insolence, that, as Fletcher of Saltoun declared, "there is an end of Government "if such practices are suffered to escape punish-"ment." * Queen Caroline, above all, was greatly irritated, looking upon the murder of Porteous as a direct insult to her person and authority. There is still a tradition in Scotland, that her Majesty, in the first burst of her resentment, exclaimed to the Duke of Argyle, that, sooner than submit to such things, she would make Scotland a hunting field. "In that case, Madam," answered Argyle, with a profound bow, but with no courtly spirit, "I will "take leave of your Majesty, and go down to my "own country to get my hounds ready!" CHAP. XVII. 1736.

It was, however, Argyle's brother, the Earl of Isla, whom the government immediately despatched to Edinburgh, with strict orders and full powers to detect, convict, and punish the offenders. But neither the rewards offered, nor the threats denounced, produced any disclosure. All the exertions of Isla ended only in collecting some vague rumours, which he could never trace to any authority, nor lead to any result. The popular feeling was evidently not for the murdered but for the murderer. I find in Isla's report to Walpole, "The most shocking circumstance is, that it plainly "appears the highflyers of our Scotch Church

* To the Duke of Newcastle, September 16. 1736.

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"have made this infamous murder a point of con-
"science. One of the actors went straight away
"to a country church, where the sacrament was
"given to a vast crowd of people, as the fashion is
"here, and there boasted what he had done. All
"the lower rank of the people who have distin-
"guished themselves by pretences to a superior
"sanctity, talk of this murder as the hand of God
"doing justice; and my endeavours to punish mur-
"derers are called grievous persecutions. I have
"conversed with several of the parsons.....;
"and, indeed, I could hardly have given credit
"to the public reports of the temper of these
"saints if I had not myself been witness to it." *
Thus was all search impeded, nor was any discovery made. Even at the present time, the origin of this singular conspiracy remains as much a mystery as ever. We can only conjecture that the ringleaders, whoever they might be, took care to leave Edinburgh, and even Scotland, as soon as their crime was perpetrated, and did not venture to return for some years; and we learn from Sir Walter Scott, that, in his younger days, the voice of common rumour pointed out certain individuals, though without any proof, who had returned from the East and West Indies in improved circumstances, as having fled abroad on account of the Porteous Mob. †

* To Sir Robert Walpole, October 16. 1736.

† Tales of a Grandfather, Third Series, vol. ii. p. 177.

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But though there had been no discovery, who could tolerate that there should be no punishment? In the next Session, a Bill was brought in for this object, framed in a violent and vindictive spirit, far unlike the usual moderation of the minister, and probably the effect of the Queen's resentment. Having found no other victims to strike, it aimed its blow at the whole City of Edinburgh. It proposed to abolish the City Charter, rase the City gates, disband the City Guard, and declare the Provost, Mr. Wilson, incapable of again holding any public office. To support these angry enactments, witnesses were examined at the bar of both Houses; but no new fact of importance appeared. Some carelessness was certainly proved against the Provost, who had slighted previous warnings of the riot: but how unjust to condemn, how unwise to insult, the citizens at large! The Scottish Peers, however, and Members of Parliament, with that high national spirit which has ever so nobly marked the character of the Scottish people, combined almost as one man on this occasion. In the House of Lords, the Duke of Argyle made an eloquent speech, in which, after his usual panegyric on himself, he denounced the measure as contrary both to law and justice. In the Commons, the Lord Advocate (the celebrated Duncan Forbes) was not withheld by the trammels of office or the attachments of party from declaring similar sentiments. He was earnestly supported by Mr. Lindsay, member for Edinburgh, and by Lord

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Polwarth, son of the Scotch Earl of Marchmont, a young nobleman beginning to shine in the foremost ranks of Opposition; nor was the more experienced skill of Barnard and of Wyndham wanting. The measure speedily grew, as it deserved, unpopular, and on one occasion, in committee, was carried only by the casting vote of the chairman. Under these circumstances, Walpole, who, we may presume, had never heartily approved of the most obnoxious clauses, wisely consented to recede from them: one by one they were plucked out of the Bill, and it dwindled, at length, into an Act disabling Mr. Wilson from holding any future office, and imposing on the city a fine of 2,000*l.* for the benefit of Captain Porteous's widow. And thus, it was remarked at the time, all these fierce debates ended only in making the fortune of an old cook-maid — such having been the original calling of the worthy lady.

A clause, however, was added to the Bill, compelling the ministers of the Scottish Church to read a proclamation from the pulpit, once every month for the ensuing twelve, calling on their congregations to exert themselves to bring to justice the murderers of Porteous. This order was greatly resented by many of the clergy, who complained that their pulpits were thus indecorously made the scene of a hue and cry; while others, again, finding the proclamation mention "the Lords Temporal "and Spiritual in Parliament assembled," feared that they might thus seem to acknowledge the

legality of Bishops; an order of men whom they would seldom mention without insult and invective. CHAP. XVII.

Another remarkable proceeding of this Session, was a plan to lower the interest of the National Debt by Sir John Barnard. From no one could it have come with greater weight. Were I called upon to name the man who in that century most honourably filled, and most highly adorned, the character of a British merchant, I should, without hesitation, answer, Sir John Barnard. Industrious, not grasping, in his gains—liberal, not lavish, in his expenses — religious without austerity, and charitable without ostentation—neither unduly claiming kindred with the great, nor yet veiling a secret envy under an apparent disdain, — he always maintained that calmness and self-command which is the essence of true dignity.* His speeches were, like himself, full of sterling worth: if his language was not always the most eloquent, his arguments never failed to be the most weighty. "In all matters of trade," says Speaker Onslow, "he had more sagacity, acuteness, force, "and closeness of reasoning, better and more prac- "ticable notions, than almost any man I ever knew, "with a disinterestedness as to himself that no "temptation of the greatest profit, or very high "stations (for such he might have had), would "have drawn him from the very retired and humble 1737.

* Benjamin Constant, in his remarkable production, "Adolphe," most truly describes:—"je ne sais quelle fougue destructive "de la considération qui ne se compose que du calme." (p. 173.)

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"life he generally chose to lead, not only for the "sake of his health, but the content of his mind, "in a moderate habitation in a neighbouring village "to London, from whence he only came as he was "occasionally called to any business of importance "in the City or in Parliament; in the first of "which he was a great magistrate, and in the other "of true weight and influence." * As to the latter, indeed, another remarkable testimony was once borne by the very minister whom he so keenly and steadily opposed. We are told that, as Sir Robert Walpole was one day riding with some friends in a narrow lane, persons were overheard talking on the other side of the hedge. "Whose voice is "that?" asked one of the party. "Do not you "know?" replied Sir Robert. "It is one which "I never shall forget. I have often felt its power!" It was Sir John Barnard's.

The project of Sir John Barnard was, briefly, to borrow money at three per cent., and redeem some of the annuities for which a higher rate was yearly paid. But several solid and many specious arguments against it were urged by Walpole. "If we "advert," said he, "to the time and manner in "which these debts were created, every argument "against the reduction of interest acquires a great "additional force. At that disastrous period "(1720), the creditors of the South Sea and East "India Companies had a power to demand the

* Speaker Onslow's Remarks. (Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 565.)

" whole amount of their bonds. Their forbear-
" ance was essentially necessary to the defence and
" well-being of the community; for, had they per-
" sisted in claiming their principal, the whole must
" have fallen on the landed interest, or the result
" must have been such as I dare not mention, or
" hardly think of. And is the service then ren-
" dered to the country to be now repaid by a
" compulsory reduction of their dividends? I call
" it compulsory, for any reduction by terror can
" only be described by that name." — The country gentlemen were in general eager for Barnard's plan; and it was not without much adroitness and several Parliamentary manœuvres on the part of the minister, that it was at length rejected by a large majority.

But the principal hopes of the Opposition in this year rested on Frederick Prince of Wales, whose secret encouragement had now ripened into open support. His disagreements with his father were by no means of recent date. Even whilst he remained at Hanover, and whilst his father, as Prince of Wales, had gone to England, they were near enough to bicker. His own wishes were strongly fixed on an alliance with the Princess Royal of Prussia, the same who afterwards became Margravine of Bareith, and who, in her Memoirs, has left us a strange, and probably exaggerated, portrait of all her own relations. The marriage was earnestly desired by the Queen of Prussia, and, indeed, by the chief members of both families; but the

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brutal temper of the King, who used to beat his daughter, and who wished to behead his son*, and the personal antipathy between him and his cousin George the Second, finally broke off the negotiations. Prince Frederick, in as much despair as a lover can be who has never seen his mistress, sent from Hanover one La Motte as his agent, to assure the Queen of Prussia that he was determined, in spite of his father, still to conclude the marriage, and that he would set off in disguise for Berlin to execute his purpose. But the Queen, in an overflowing transport of delight could not refrain from imparting the good news to the English envoy at her Court. He, as was his duty, gave timely notice to his own; the rash project was prevented †; and the headstrong Prince was summoned to England, where, as I have already noticed, he arrived, to the great joy of the nation, in 1728.

For some years after his arrival, the Prince remained tranquil; but, as he became familiar with the English language and customs, and conscious of his own importance, he entered more and more into cabals against his parents. His character was weak, yet stubborn; with generous impulses, and not without accomplishments; but vain, fond of flattery, and easily led by flatterers. Even after his marriage, and whilst devoted to his wife, he thought it incumbent upon him to affect the cha-

* Besides the Mémoires de Bareith, *passim*, see Lord Chesterfield's despatch to the Plenipotentiaries, September 15. 1730. Appendix.

† Mém. de Bareith, vol. i. p. 154.

racter of a man of intrigue: this reputation, and not beauty, appears to have been his aim; and his principal favourite, Lady Middlesex, is described as "very short, very plain, and very yellow, and "full of Greek and Latin!"* He professed a love of literature, and a patronage of men of talents; partly, I believe, from opposition to his father, who had always despised the first, and neglected the latter. Thus it had happened, at last, that nearly all the wit and genius were ranged on the side of Opposition. To these the Prince's house was always open: Pulteney, Chesterfield, Wyndham, Carteret, and Cobham became his familiar friends, and the "all accomplished St. "John," the Mentor of his political course. It was with a view to his future reign, and as an oblique satire on his father's, that the fine essay of Bolingbroke, the "Patriot King," was composed. The rising men of talent, also (Pitt and Lyttleton especially), were taken into his confidence, and afterwards into his household.

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The marriage of Frederick, in April, 1736, to Augusta of Saxe Gotha, a Princess of beauty and excellent judgment, did not, as was hoped, restore

* Horace Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 65. In the Appendix (p. 500.) are printed some French and English songs of the Prince on the Princess, whom he calls his Sylvia. One stanza ends thus:—

"Peu d'amis, reste d'un naufrage,
"Je rassemble autour de moi,
"Et me ris de l'étalage
"Qu'a chez lui toujours un Roi!"

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union to the Royal Family. It is remarkable, that the address to the King on this occasion was moved by Pulteney, and that the principal speakers rose from the ranks of Opposition. Pitt and Lyttleton both made their first speeches that evening; and the performance of the former is highly praised by a contemporary; yet the subject seems to admit of little eloquence, and less variety; and the comparison with Demosthenes and Cicero is evidently an anticipation.* So much are men mistaken at their outset, that Lyttleton appears to have been considered the greater of the two; and Pope calls him "the rising genius of this age."†

Immediately after the Prince's marriage, his narrow income became the constant theme of his complaints. His father, as Prince of Wales, had been allowed 100,000*l.* from a Civil List of 700,000*l.* a year; how unjust, therefore, that he should receive only 50,000*l.* from a Civil List of 800,000*l.*! It might have been observed that George the Second, when Prince, had to maintain a large family in suitable splendour; but all such considerations are usually leapt over by self-interest. The Prince's mind continually reverted to a scheme which Bolingbroke had first suggested two years before, and which, on leaving England, had been his parting advice — to set the King at defiance, and apply to Parliament for a permanent income of 100,000*l.* a year. Some of his best friends remonstrated warmly

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 301.

† See Swift's answer to Pope, May 10. 1739.

against this violent measure; amongst others, Dodington, afterwards Lord Melcombe, a man of some talent, and, as patron of two boroughs, of considerable influence, who has left a curious and minute account of this transaction.* He earnestly endeavoured to dissuade Frederick from thus dragging his private differences into public view, and forcing every one to declare either against the King or against the Prince; but His Royal Highness remained immovable, and used only what an acute traveller has called the Italian mode of argument; that is, repeating again and again the same original assertion! † CHAP. XVII. 1737.

In general, however, the Opposition were far from displeased at the prospect thus afforded of perplexing the monarch and defeating the minister. Pulteney consented to bring the question forward; Sir John Barnard promised his support; and Sir William Wyndham answered for the Tories, declaring that they had long desired an opportunity of showing their attachment to the Prince, and proving that they were not, as falsely represented, Jacobites. The question derived still more interest from the ill health of the King, who was at this time suffering under a low fever, and by many

* Dodington's Diary. Appendix. His first name had been Bubb; and he has already been mentioned as minister at Madrid in 1715. See vol. i. p. 423.

† "Il répond aux objections à la manière Italienne; c'est de "répéter en criant un peu plus la phrase à laquelle on vient "de répondre." (Stendhal, Rome et Naples, p. 99.)

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persons not expected to survive.* This circumstance, while it aggravated the undutiful conduct of the Prince, induced many more politicians to approve it.

The King, on his part, at last hearing of his son's design, was persuaded by Walpole to send him a message, promising to settle a jointure upon the Princess, and, though not augmenting the Prince's income, to make it independent, and out of His Majesty's control. This message was delivered by several great officers of state, especially Lord Hardwicke, who had just succeeded Lord Talbot as Chancellor; but it produced only some civil expressions from Frederick, without any change of purpose.† On the very next day, the 22d of February, 1737, Pulteney made his motion in the House of Commons, in the form of an Address, beseeching the King to settle upon the Prince 100,000*l.* a year, and promising that the House would enable him effectually to perform the same. He was seconded by Sir John Barnard. Their arguments, couched in very moderate and cautious terms, turned chiefly on historical precedents of heirs apparent and presumptive, who, it was maintained, had a right to a sufficient and settled income. Walpole began his reply by de-

* "I heard this day, from a pretty good hand, that His "Majesty has been worse than they cared to own . . . . . The "physicians say, that if he does get over this illness, he cannot "live a twelvemonth." Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, February 6. 1737. See also Dodington's Narrative.

† Lord Hardwicke's Narrative. Hardwicke Papers.

claring that he had never risen to speak with more pain and reluctance; but that, from his personal knowledge of the two great characters concerned, he was convinced that neither of them would think himself injured because any gentleman gave his opinion or vote freely in Parliament. He said that he had the King's commands to acquaint them with the particulars of the message delivered to the Prince on the preceding day, and of His Royal Highness's answer; that 50,000*l.* a year, with the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, amounting to about 10,000*l.* more, formed a competent allowance for the heir apparent; and that the King could afford no more from the Civil List; that to interfere between father and son would be highly indecorous; and that no real precedent for it could be adduced, except under Henry the Sixth, a prince so weak, that the Parliament found it necessary to assume several rights and privileges to which they were not properly entitled.

The King's ill health, however, made more impression than the minister's arguments, and greatly reduced the usual majority of the latter: nay, he would even have been left in a minority, had Wyndham been able to fulfil his promise when he answered for his friends. But the more ardent Tories were unwilling to give any vote in favour of the heir of Hanover, or against the authority of the Crown, and they left the House in a body, to the number of forty-five; a secession which, as it appears to me, exactly measures the strength of the

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decided Jacobites in that House of Commons. It is remarkable, that in the preceding Parliament the Jacobite numbers were said to be almost the very same, being computed, in 1728, at fifty.* Wyndham himself, to maintain his influence over his party, though he spoke, found it expedient to refrain from voting.† Thus, on the division, the Opposition was reduced to 204, while the minister who could still muster 234, prevailed. On the 25th, the same motion was made in the House of Lords by Carteret, but rejected by a very large majority; and a protest, on this occasion, was signed by only fourteen peers.

The step which the Prince had taken on this occasion, though rash and violent, is not incapable of much defence: his next admits of none. Stung by his recent disappointment, and anxious at all hazards to show some public insult to his father and mother, he took the opportunity of the ensuing 31st of July, when the Princess was seized with the pains of childbirth. It was not till less than a month before that he had deigned to send the King and Queen any announcement of the approaching event. The whole Royal Family were then at Hampton Court, and all proper attendance for Her Royal Highness was awaiting her first summons. Nevertheless, no sooner did her pains begin, than the Prince, to the imminent danger of her life, hurried her in the middle of the night to Lon-

* See Hallam's Constit. Hist., vol. iii. p. 338.

† Dodington's Narrative.

don, to the unaired palace of St. James's, without the slightest intimation to the King and Queen, or to any of the great officers of state whom custom required to be present on such occasions. The King, however, hearing of this abrupt departure, immediately despatched Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Harrington to attend the birth; but they did not arrive till after the Princess was delivered of a daughter. The behaviour of Frederick to the Queen (for, on the first notice of her son's exploit, she too had hastened to St. James's, and was with the Princess at seven in the morning) is recorded by no better authority than Horace Walpole's, but seems highly probable, and well according with the rest of his conduct. "The gracious Prince, so "far from attempting an apology, spoke not a word "to his mother; but, on her retreat, gave her his "hand, led her into the street to her coach—still "dumb; but, a crowd being assembled at the gate, "he kneeled down in the dirt, and humbly kissed "Her Majesty's hand! Her indignation must "have shrunk into contempt!" *

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Such feelings might, indeed, be justified by such actions. What can we think of him who runs the risk to lose his wife, rather than not insult his father; and who contrives to prove himself at once a careless husband, a froward son, and a foolish politician? Frederick very soon found it requisite,

* Reminiscences, Works, vol. iv. p. 309. He repeats the same story in his Memoirs, vol. i. p. 64.

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for the sake of public opinion, to offer his parents many humble submissions and apologies. He had no better excuse to make, than that the Princess was taken ill sooner than had been expected; that he thought it prudent to remove her towards the best assistance, rather than await its coming; and that, in his hurry, he had forgotten to apprise their Majesties. No one gave the slightest credit to these pretexts: it was evidently a settled and concerted design—the fruit of that sort of stupid cunning by which men so often overreach themselves. We may conjecture what was the language of his enemies on this transaction, when we find the strong disapprobation even of his friends. Thus Bolingbroke writes to Wyndham from France:—"I am at "a loss to find the plausibility or the popularity of "the present occasion of rupture. He hurries his "wife from Court when she is upon the point of "being delivered of her first child. His father "swells, struts, and storms. He confesses his rash- "ness, and asks pardon in the terms of one who "owns himself in the wrong. Besides that all this "appears to me boyish, it is purely domestic, and "there is nothing as far as I can discern, to interest "the public in the cause of His Royal Highness."*

The Prince's apologies were now so humble and so numerous, that they should perhaps have made some impression upon the King;—at least, have induced him to leave things as they were, and avoid a

* Letter, October 13. 1737.

total and public separation; but, as the son had been disrespectful and untoward, so was the father harsh. Lord Hardwicke earnestly endeavoured still to reconcile them; while Walpole, very little to his honour, took the contrary course. It is admitted that, far from striving to close, he wished to keep open the breach, fearing lest his own removal might be among the terms of a reconciliation.* He urged, that the King had now an advantage, by the Prince having put himself so much in the wrong; which advantage ought not to be parted with. Thus preventing (it was an easy task) the King's passion from cooling, he drew up in his name, and by his order, a message to the Prince in very violent terms, it being better, said Walpole, "to take it "short at first." The language was afterwards greatly softened at Lord Hardwicke's interposition; but it still remained sufficiently strong: it drew an angry picture of the Prince's conduct; declared that the King would receive no reply; and informed him, "It is my pleasure that you leave St. "James's, with all your family." This message, signed by the King, was delivered to the Prince on the 10th of September. It being peremptory, Frederick retired from the palace, and took up his residence at Norfolk House, St. James's Square, which immediately became the centre of all opposition and political intrigue. The King issued an order, that no persons who paid their court to the

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* Coxe's Life, p. 539.

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Prince and Princess should be admitted to his presence; and an official circular was sent to each of the foreign ministers, containing the whole correspondence that had passed in this unfortunate transaction.

Such was the public estrangement between George the Second and his son, nearly resembling in its particulars the estrangement, twenty years before, between the same monarch and his father.* A christening was the occasion of the first—a childbirth of the latter. In both cases was the heir apparent commanded to quit the Royal palace; in both was the scandal trumpeted to all Europe, through the foreign ministers. Yet, amidst all this liberality of disclosures, it appears that, as in most domestic quarrels, there still remained some secrets untold. "Sir Robert Walpole informed me," writes Lord Hardwicke, "of certain passages be-"tween the King and himself, and between the "Queen and the Prince, of too high and secret a "nature even to be trusted to this narrative; but "from thence I found great reason to think, that "this unhappy difference between the King and "Queen and His Royal Highness turned upon "some points of a more interesting and important "nature than have hitherto appeared."

There was one point on which at the time all parties held the same language,—that union in the Royal family was most essential to its own interest

* See Vol. I. p. 442.

and preservation. This we find assumed on all sides as an indisputable axiom. Yet, strange as it seems, this quarrel, so unanimously deplored by the friends to the dynasty, as a heavy blow to it, tended, in fact, in no small degree to its security. The Tories, who had hitherto considered their party as under a perpetual exclusion from office and power, who saw no glimmering of light for themselves, except through the restoration of the Stuarts, had been ready to join the Jacobites in their most desperate designs. They would have given secret encouragement to any conspiracy, and perhaps public support to any rebellion. Very many amongst them indeed, were attached to the Pretender, not as a cause of hope, but as a cause of principle; because they believed, however mistakenly, in his right, — because the spirit of the gallant and noble-minded and much enduring Cavaliers was yet alive within them; — and these men were not to be won over. But there were also not a few who saw with pleasure a far easier and safer avenue to power open in the favour of Frederick, who detached themselves from their dangerous foreign connection, became reconciled to the dynasty, and began to await the death of George instead of his dethronement. CHAP. XVII. 1737.

The separation in the Royal family was followed, in only a few weeks, by the unexpected death of the amiable and excellent Queen. Her complaint was a rupture, which false delicacy had always induced her to conceal from her attendants. Lady Sundon alone had some years before surprised the

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secret, and thereby risen to great influence over her Royal mistress. Her real situation being thus unknown to her physicians, they treated it as gout in the stomach, and prescribed remedies which heightened the malady. When it was at length disclosed to them, it was already beyond their skill. One of the surgeons declared, that if he had known it two days sooner, Her Majesty should have been walking about the next day. She died on the 20th of November, to the deep and lasting grief, not only of the King, but of the nation. Her last days, though racked with pain, were courageously and patiently borne, and set forth, in the highest degree, temper, magnanimity, affection for her family, and resignation to God. Once, we are told, after a most painful operation, she became apprehensive that the agony had wrung from her some peevish expressions, and reproached herself with them. She took a tender leave of the King, and recommended her servants to his future favour, extending her concern even to the lowest. To Walpole she is reported to have said, — "I hope you will never "desert the King, but continue to serve him with "your usual fidelity;" and, pointing to her husband, she added, "I recommend His Majesty to "you."

Yet the death-bed of this high-minded Princess was not wholly free from blame, still less from the malignant exaggerations of party. She was censured as implacable in hatred even to her dying moments; as refusing her pardon to her son, who, it

was added, had sent humbly to beseech her blessing. "And unforgiving, unforgiven dies!" cries Chesterfield in some powerful lines circulated at the time. With still more bitterness, Pope veils his satire beneath pretended praise.* The real truth seems to be, as we find it stated in a letter only two days afterwards, that "she absolutely "refused to see the Prince of Wales, nor could the "Archbishop of Canterbury, when he gave her "the sacrament, prevail on her, though she said "she heartily forgave the Prince." † In justice, however, to her memory, we should not forget how recent were the Prince's insults, and how zealously he had seized every occasion to treat her with studied slight and disrespect. CHAP. XVII. 1737.

If, indeed, we could trust the assurances of Horace Walpole, Lord Orford, to Mr. Coxe, we might assert, that the Queen had sent both her forgiveness and her blessing to her son, and said that she would have seen him with pleasure had she not feared to irritate the King. ‡ But the authority of Horace Walpole will seldom weigh with a dispassionate historian, unless when confirmed, or, at least, not opposed, by others. As is well observed by Mr. Hallam on another occasion,

* "Hang the sad verse on Carolina's urn,
"And hail her passage to the realms of rest,
"All parts perform'd, and *all her children bless'd!*"
Epilogue to Satires.

† Mr. Charles Ford to Swift, November 22. 1737.

‡ Coxe's Life, p. 550.

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"his want of accuracy or veracity, or both, is so "palpable (above all in his verbal communications), "that no great stress can be laid upon his tes- "timony." *

During the ten years (from 1727 till 1737) in which Queen Caroline wielded so great an influence over public business, it continued to flow in a smooth and uniform current, seldom broken by obstacles, and bearing along comparatively few materials for history. Yet the periods which seem the most barren of striking incidents are sometimes the most fruitful of great results; and I shall here pause in my narrative to trace, first, the progress of LITERATURE, and next the origin and growth of METHODISM.

* Constit. Hist., vol. iii. p. 383.

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THROUGHOUT all the states of Europe, the literature of the Middle Ages was nearly the same. The usual fault of a barbarous period is not so much the absence as the false direction of learning and research, which waste themselves on subjects either beneath the notice, or above the comprehension, of man. In Spain and in Italy, as in France and England, the learned few, five centuries ago, equally lost themselves in the mazes of Thomas Aquinas, and trod in the beaten track of Aristotle; while their lighter hours were amused with quibbles and Leonine verses. But when, towards the year 1500, the human mind burst forth from its trammels, and the human intellect was stirred to its inmost depths — when, at nearly one and the same period, printing was diffused, America discovered, and the errors of the Church of Rome reformed, — then was a new and original impulse every where given to genius. And thus, in the next generation, almost every people began to

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possess a separate and distinctive literature of its own. No where did there gather a brighter galaxy of genius than in England during the era of Elizabeth: it is by those great old writers that our language was raised and dignified; it is from that "pure well of English undefiled" that all successive generations will draw with a quenchless thirst and in inexhaustible profusion.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, most of our writers, trusting less, and having less reason to trust, their own inspirations, began to look abroad for models. The literature of Spain was then eagerly sought and studied, and by its faults infected ours. Had it been studied in a more discriminating spirit, our writers might have advantageously borrowed that remarkable nobility and loftiness of sentiment which pervades it, or those romantic traces of Eastern poetry which yet linger in the land of the Moors. Thus that beautiful fable of the Loves of the Rose and Nightingale, first made known to us, I think, by Lady Mary Montagu, in a translation of a Turkish ode *, and since so often sung and so highly adorned by the muse of Byron †, might have been found, two centuries ago, in the Spanish verse of Calderon. ‡

* See her letter to Pope, April 1. 1717.

† The Giaour, v. 21. The Bride of Abydos, conclusion, &c.

‡ "Ave que canto amo rosa."

CALDERON, *El Magico Prodigioso*; a most remarkable performance; I think, in some respects, superior to *Faust*.

But the English imitators rather preferred to fix on the fanciful conceits and forced allegories — the AGUDEZAS (to use their own expression) of the Spaniards; as when the same Calderon compares the sun setting beneath light clouds to a golden corpse entombed in a silver shroud! * Such wild shoots of fancy, which had also struck deep root in Italy, the wits of Charles the First laboured, and not without effect, to transplant among us.

As under Charles the First the national taste was corrupted by the example of Spain, so was it under Charles the Second by the example of France. The King's youth had been passed in that country: its literature, and his inclinations, equally pointed to gallantry; and the gay wit of St. Evremond and Grammont sparkled at his Court. Nor was the nation ill prepared to receive them. The gloomy thraldom of the Puritans had weighed especially upon our stage; and the pressure once removed, it flew too high by the rebound. Thus it happened that a general licentiousness began to prevail amongst authors, and that even the genius of Dryden cannot shield his plays from just reproach. Nay, it may be said of him, that he went far beyond his models. It is not so much any

" Quando el Sol cayendo vaya
" A sepultarse en las ondas,
" Que entre obscuras nubes pardas
" Al gran cadaver de oro
" Son monumentos de plata!"

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rapturous descriptions, or overflowings of ardent passion, that we find to condemn; but his favourite heroes, his Woodalls and his Wildbloods, display a low, hard, ruffianly coarseness — a taste for almost every thing base, which there is seldom any touch of generosity or kindness to redeem. A legion of other writers could emulate the coarseness, though not the wit, of a Dryden; and as Liberty had just run riot, so did Gaiety then.

The great writers of Queen Anne's reign, and of the succeeding, happily shunned these faults of the last century, whether derived from Spain or from France. We may still, indeed, here and there detect some conceits like Cowley's, some license like Rochester's; but these are few and rare: the current ran in the opposite direction, and was no more to be turned by some exceptions, than, on the other hand, the sublime genius of Milton could guide or reform the taste of the preceding generation. Wit was now refined from its alloy. Poetry was cleared of its redundancies. The rules both of prose and of the drama became better understood, and more strictly followed. It was sought to form, and not merely to flatter, the public taste: nor did genius, when well directed in its flights, soar less high. In English prose, it would be difficult to equal, in their various departments, "from lively to severe," the manner of Bolingbroke, Addison, Atterbury, and Chesterfield.

Or who has ever exceeded in their different styles and subjects the poetry of Pope, Swift, Gay, and Prior? By these, and such as these, was our literature enriched and refined, and our language almost finally formed. It was immediately after them that a genius not inferior to theirs' compiled that celebrated Dictionary, which, first published in 1755, has ever since been esteemed as the standard of the English tongue. Since that time new words or phrases have been but seldom attempted, and still more seldom received and acknowledged. Yet, notwithstanding the advantages that attend a fixed and final standard, I still hope that the door is not wholly closed against foreign words, as aliens, but that some of real value may be received as denizens, and allowed to rank with the King's English. How advantageously might not several be chosen, especially from the parent German stock! Who would not wish, for example, that some writers of sufficient authority would adopt and make our own the Teutonic term FATHERLAND, which not only expresses in one word a NATIVE COUNTRY, but comprises the reason why we love it! — But let me return from this short digression.

If then we compare as a body the literary men under Queen Anne and George the First, with those under the two Charleses, we shall find a great and manifest improvement. If we compare them with the older writers of the era of Elizabeth, we shall I think pronounce them to have less

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loftiness and genius, but far more correctness. This judgment was once so universally received, that it might almost be considered a truism, and was first called in question by that great and good man to whom I have just referred. Dr. Johnson, in his preface to Shakspeare, denies the superior correctness of later times, taking issue especially upon the unities of time and place in dramatic composition. The want of these unities, he argues, is no defect, nor their attainment of any value; they are rules that "arise evidently from false "assumptions." When Johnson wrote, those rules were so universally honoured, and sanctioned by such high authorities, that he declares himself "almost frighted at his own temerity, and ready to "sink down in reverential silence." So completely has the public judgment veered round since his times, and so much has his own been adopted, that perhaps the same expressions might now be as appropriate in venturing to allege some reasons for the opposite opinion.

In the first place, I would endeavour to clear away the objection so often urged, that a respect for these unities implies a coldness or distaste for Shakspeare and our great old dramatists. Surely no such consequence can be fairly deduced. To maintain the general rule is quite compatible with the highest admiration for particular exceptions. Let us admit, that Shakspeare was most great, not only in spite of his irregularity, but even, sometimes, if you will, by and through his irregularity

—should we therefore proclaim irregularity as our future rule? Thus, in Dryden, we may admit that such incorrect rhymes as FORM and MAN—GONE and SOON *, are combined in such beautiful couplets as to make us forget their incorrectness —nay, that without the incorrectness we might have lost the beauty. But does it follow, that these rhymes should be allowed in all succeeding poets? In like manner, who that has beheld the Alhambra in all its glories of gold and azure—with its forests of slender marble pillars, and its fretwork of high emblazoned walls—has not stood entranced before that happy deviation from all architectural rules? But does it follow that we should burn Vitruvius?

The argument of Dr. Johnson is, that no dramatic representation is ever mistaken for truth, and that, therefore, as the spectator does not really imagine himself at Alexandria in the first act, there is nothing to startle him at finding the second act transferred to Rome. For the same reason, he maintains that the second act may represent events that happened several years after the first. "The spectators," says Johnson, "are always in their senses, "and know from first to last that the stage is only "a stage, and that the players are only players."

* "Our thoughtless sex is caught by outward *form*,
"And empty noise, and loves itself in *man*."

"Each has his share of good, and when 't is *gone*,
"The guest, though hungry, cannot rise too *soon*."

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But does not this argument, in fact, amount to this —that art is not perfect, and that therefore there should be no art at all? Johnson himself, on another subject, has told us that "perfection is "unattainable, but nearer and nearer approaches "may be made." * So, likewise, in the stage, the object is complete illusion—to draw the spectator as nearly as possible into the idea that those are no feigned sorrows which he sees—that a real Iphigenia stands weeping before him—that a real Cato has pierced his heroic breast. The success, it is true, always falls short of this perfection, but the nearer it is attained, the more do we applaud. The more tears are drawn from the audience—the more they are induced, either by the genius of the poet or the skill of the player, to identify themselves with the characters upon the stage, and to feel for them as they would for real sufferers:—the closer we attain this point, the closer do we come to the aim which is set before us. Follow out the principle of Dr. Johnson, and you will find no reason left why costume should be rightly observed, why Iphigenia might not appear in a hoop and Cato in a frock coat! If you are not to strive at illusion —we might argue on his own maxims—you need care only for the beauty of the poem and the merit of the recitation, and every thing tending only to the illusion, like dress, may be discarded. Or,

* Advertisement to the fourth edition of the English Dictionary.

how would the argument of Dr. Johnson hold, if applied to any other of the fine arts? A painter, in like manner, knows that the landscape or the portrait on his easel will never be mistaken for the real country or the real man, but he knows, also, that it is his business to make them as like as possible — to bring us as nearly as he can to mistake them for the reality. Nor does any critic attempt to excuse glaring faults of proportion and perspective by saying, that it would, at all events, be impossible to mistake the painting for the object, and that therefore it was superfluous to labour for illusion.

Nay more, Johnson himself seems scarcely persuaded by his own arguments, for, in his Life of Rowe, he condemns that poet for the breach of a rule that can only be defended on the same principle as the unities. "To change the scene, as is "done by Rowe in the middle of an act, is to add "more acts to the play, since an act is so much of "the business as is transacted without intermis-"sion." But why seek the illusion in this single point, when you disclaim it in others?—So shifting and uncertain appears the ground, which this great critic, so seldom erroneous in his judgments, has on this subject assumed!

If, however, such a question were to be decided by authorities, instead of arguments, I might put into the scale against Johnson's opinion, and since his time, the three great names of Alfieri, Schiller, and Byron. None of these, so far as we can learn from their lives, had any peculiar fondness for rules and

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restraints. Yet of the rules of unity they saw the advantage so clearly, as to adhere to them most carefully. Schiller, indeed, in his earlier pieces (Die Rauber especially), gave himself more license, but as his judgment matured, his regularity of design increased.

But it is asked, why, if you can avoid it, impose any restraints, any barriers on genius?— It is not considered that a great part of the beauty may arise from these very barriers. Like the embankments of a stream, they contract the channel only to give greater depth and strength to the current. Thus, in like manner, rhymes are shackles on the poet. Nevertheless it is not pretended, that on all subjects, and in all cases, blank verse is therefore preferable to rhyme. Nay, even in blank verse the metre itself is a restraint. Those sons of freedom, however, who, instead of rhyme, have written blank verse or blanker prose, have not always proved the greatest favourites with posterity. In all these cases we are to consider not the degree of trouble to him who writes, but the degree of pleasure to those who read.

It should also be remembered, that any large breach of the unities is usually attended by some clumsiness in the announcement of it. This does not apply so much, if at all, to slight deviations. Where the scene is transferred to a neighbouring spot, or to the next day, we seldom need any explanation. But when the poet changes the scene from Alexandria to Rome, he must make his

characters tell us that we are at Rome. When he leaps over some years, his characters must in like manner become chronologists. Such news seldom comes naturally into the dialogue: it appears forced and constrained, and too often reminds us of that scene in the Critic, where the two officers at Tilbury Fort inform one another that Queen Elizabeth is their sovereign, and that the English hold the Protestant faith!

It is said, however, and with great truth, that some cases will occur, in which you must relinquish beauties, unless you will break these rules. Here, however, as in all similar cases, we must weigh one advantage against the other; and whenever the beauties to be attained by a sacrifice of the unities are really sufficient to warrant that sacrifice, let no one doubt or hesitate to make it. Thus, in Joan of Arc, the nature of the story seems utterly to preclude the unities of either time or place. This was felt by Schiller; and who that reads his noble tragedy will not rejoice that he has ventured to "snatch a grace beyond the reach of art!" Thus again in Marino Faliero, the unity of place might have been still more strictly observed, had the Doge in the third act convened the conspirators in his palace, instead of going forth to meet them. But this would have lost us a splendid scene; and the latter course was therefore wisely preferred by Lord Byron, as he himself tells us in his preface. In fact, as it appears to me, a small temptation may be sufficient to justify a writer

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for changing the scene to a short distance either of time or space. Then the illusion is but slightly disturbed, and soon restored; and the audience not shocked by any breach of probability. In the Siege of Calais, for example, we not only forgive, but even expect, that the scene should pass sometimes without and sometimes within the walls. But where the action is made to extend over several years, or several hundred miles,—when, as in the Winter's Tale, we find a child not born in the first act, married in the fifth,—then I certainly think that the mind of the spectator recoils from the supposition, and that none but the very highest beauties of composition can redeem such an error of design.

I think also, that the cases are by no means numerous, where any large departure from the unities is essential to the beauty of the play. Take the instance of Othello. Had it been attempted to make that play regular, the first act must have been laid like the four others at Cyprus, and the events at Venice left to Othello or Desdemona to relate. But would this necessarily have been a blemish? In epic poems it is admitted as a beauty, that part of the story should be told by the hero, while the rest is left to the narration of the poet. The same variety is not without its charm in tragedy. If we imagine, not what we ourselves could do, but what the genius of a Shakspeare could achieve, we shall perhaps in this, and in like cases, form to ourselves an idea of what might

have been, not below the works which actually exist.

On the whole then, I would not forego any beauty of description, or developement of character, for the sake of the unities. But where, without loss or detriment, it is possible to maintain them, I certainly think them an additional charm to the public, an additional merit in the poet. I would advise a writer to seek them, not to sacrifice to them. It is on the same principle, that in versifying he should make every attempt to find a perfect rhyme before he uses a defective one. But if he cannot find any of the former, I would rather bear a faulty rhyme than lose a noble thought.

In our own times, not merely has the depreciation of the unities gained ground, but the poets of the age of Anne have been censured as carrying too far the smoothness and correctness of versification. Pope especially, as the foremost of this class, has been nibbled at by men whom, when alive, a single brandish of his pen would have silenced and struck down. He has been denied imagination, variety, true poetic genius, and allowed scarce any thing beyond the talent of harmonious numbers! But his defence has been promptly undertaken by gifted hands, and conducted in a manner worthy of himself and of them. Mr. Thomas Campbell has, with generous spirit and admirable sense, vindicated our British Horace.* Lord Byron point-

* Essay on English Poetry, pp. 260—268. ed. 1819.

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edly observes, that Pope is the only poet whose very faultlessness has been urged as his reproach, and that he is only blamed as Aristides was banished, because the world are weary of hearing him called the Just. Nay, so eager was Byron to do justice to his predecessor, that he became unjust to himself: he compares the poetry of the last century to the Parthenon, and that of his own times to a Turkish mosque, and boasts, that though he had assisted in rearing the gaudy and fantastic edifice, he had ever refrained from defacing and despoiling the monuments of a purer taste.*

The real truth seems to be, that Pope's was not the highest class of poetry, but that in the second class he deserves to hold the very highest rank. It may also be observed, that this class, though inferior in the scale of merit, is perhaps more generally and permanently pleasing than any other. Milton was undoubtedly a far greater poet than Pope; yet Paradise Lost too often remains praised but unread upon the shelf, while the Moral Essays are turned over by a thousand eager hands. I am far from saying, that this is a right taste; but I do say that it is, and I believe ever will be, the taste of the larger number of readers. When Pope is blamed for wanting the highest poetic flights, we should remember, that such flights did not accord with the subjects he had chosen, and that sublimity misplaced would only become ridiculous. Still less

* Letter on the Rev. W. Bowles.

should he be condemned, as appears his frequent fate, only because his imitators, for the following fifty years, were for the most part tasteless and insipid copyists of his harmony without his sense; or, to adopt his own expression, "word-catchers that live "on syllables"—who wrote, in very even balanced numbers, very chilling love-verses and very innocent satires! All this is true, yet all this reflects no discredit upon Pope. It is the fate of all great writers to produce many wretched imitations, and to become the model of all the aspiring dunces of their day. How many ponderous epics have come forth stillborn from the press in imitation of Milton! In our own time, what fooleries have been perpetrated, with Byron for their model! What shoals of would-be Laras and Harolds! How many an accomplished young lady, with a richly bound album, has thought it fashionable to describe herself in it as plunged in the lowest depths of despair and hatred to mankind; as one "who dreads the darkness, and "yet loathes the light"—who claims the "brother-"hood of Cain"—whose hours are "all tortured "into ages!" But do all these mincing dainty miseries recoil against the illustrious source of them, and tarnish his great poetic name? And why then is Pope alone to be held responsible for the faults and follies of his copyists?

The writers of the age of Anne, by descending from the highest but less popular flights of poetry, and by refining the licentiousness which had heretofore prevailed, greatly extended and enlarged the

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field of literature. The number of readers grew more and more considerable. Books were no longer confined either to the studious or to the dissolute. Education and reflection spread by degrees throughout all classes; and though several other causes concurred to this end, the new style in literature was, perhaps, the foremost. To women, especially, the change was of importance; there had hitherto been few books for their suitable amusement, and scarcely any medium between pedantry and ignorance. Amongst the ladies who lived in the time of Pope, nay even in his society, we find a want of that common information, which is seldom acquired but in youth, and which, beyond doubt, their daughters afterwards possessed. Thus, to give one instance, Mrs. Cæsar, whose husband was member of Parliament for Hertford, and had filled offices under Harley, and who was herself a correspondent of Swift, could not spell English; and was so far from considering this deficiency as a matter of shame, that she treats it as a subject of jest. She admits that her spelling is bad, but boasts that her style is terse; and quotes a saying of Pope, that he sometimes finds too many letters in her words, but never too many words in her letters! * In the next generation, I apprehend, many might have misspelt, but would have blushed at it; in the next, again, nearly all would have spelt rightly.

There is another praise to which the age of Anne seems justly entitled; it awakened public

* Mrs. Cæsar to Swift, August 6. 1732.

attention to the age of Elizabeth. Our noble English ballads had remained forgotten, until Addison quoted and applauded Chevy Chace.* Thus also the Fairy Queen was proclaimed, and at length acknowledged as "a great land-mark of our poetry."† Thus the great old dramatists again resumed their reign, having in this century first excited praise from eminent men as readers, and next attracted applauding thousands on the stage.

During the reigns of William, of Anne, and of George the First, till 1721, when Walpole became Prime Minister, the Whigs and Tories vied with each other in the encouragement of learned and literary men. Whenever a writer showed signs of genius, either party to which his principles might incline him was eager to hail him as a friend. The most distinguished society, and the most favourable opportunities, were thrown open to him. Places and pensions were showered down in lavish profusion; those who wished only to pursue their studies had the means afforded them for learned leisure, while more ambitious spirits were pushed forward in Parliament or in diplomacy. In short, though the sovereign was never an Augustus, almost every minister was a Mæcenas. Newton

* Spectator, Nos. 70. and 74.

† This was the expression of Pope. (Spence, p. 171.) He said, on another occasion:—"There is something in Spenser "that pleases one as strongly in one's old age as it did in one's "youth. I read the Fairy Queen when I was about twelve, "with infinite delight, and I think it gave me as much when I "read it over about a year or two ago." (Ibid. p. 296.)

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became Master of the Mint; Locke was a Commissioner of Appeals; Steele was a Commissioner of Stamps; Stepney, Prior, and Gay, were employed in lucrative and important embassies. It was a slight piece of humour at his outset and at his introduction — the "City and Country Mouse" — that brought forth a mountain of honours to Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax, and First Lord of the Treasury. When Parnell first came to Court, Lord Treasurer Oxford passed through the crowd of nobles, leaving them all unnoticed, to greet and welcome the poet. "I value myself," says Swift, "upon making the ministry desire to "be acquainted with Parnell, and not Parnell with "the ministry." * Swift himself became Dean of St. Patrick's, and but for the Queen's dislike would have been Bishop of Hereford. Pope, as a Roman Catholic, was debarred from all places of honour or emolument, yet Secretary Craggs offered him a pension of 300*l.* a year not to be known by the public, and to be paid from the Secret Service Money. † In 1714 General Stanhope carried a bill, providing a most liberal reward for the discovery of the longitude. ‡ Addison became Secretary of State. Tickell was Secretary in Ireland. Several rich sinecures were bestowed on Congreve and Rowe, on Hughes, and Ambrose Philips.

* Journal to Stella, January 31. 1713.

† Spence's Anecdotes, p. 307.

‡ Commons' Journals, vol. xvii. p. 686, &c.

§ See a similar enumeration, and some ingenious observations, Edin. Review, No. cvii. p. 21.

Looking to those times, and comparing them with ours, we shall find that this system of munificent patronage has never been revived. Its place has, however, in some degree, been supplied by the large increase of readers, and the higher price of books, and consequently the far superior value of literary labour. A popular writer may now receive a liberal income from the sale of his works, and, according to the common phrase, needs no other patron than the public. It is often boasted, that the latter state of things far exceeds the former in independence; yet, however plausible this assertion, it is not altogether confirmed by a closer survey. I cannot find that the objects of such splendid patronage were at all humbled by receiving it, or considered themselves in the slightest degree as political or private bondsmen. I cannot find that Swift or Prior, for example, mixed with the great on any other footing than that of equal familiarity and friendship, or paid any submissive homage to Lord Treasurer Oxford or Secretary St. John. In Bolingbroke's Correspondence we may still read the private notes of MATT to HARRY and of HARRY to MATT. The old system of patronage in literature was, I conceive, like the old system of patronage in Parliament. Some powerful nobleman, with large burgage tenures in his hands, was enabled to place in the House of Commons any young man of like principles and of promising abilities. That system, whether for good or for evil, endured till the Reform Bill of 1832. But whatever difference of opinion may exist concerning it, there is one

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point which will be admitted by all those who have observed its inward workings — although we often hear the contrary roared forth by those who never saw it nearer than from the Strangers' Gallery — that a man brought into Parliament from his talents felt no humiliating dependence on him by whose interest he was elected — no such dependence, for example, as would be imposed among gentlemen by what seems a far less favour, a gift of fifty pounds. The two parties met on equal terms of friendship. It was thought as desirable for the one that his principles should be ably supported, as for the other that he should sit in the House of Commons. Thus, likewise, in literary patronage, when Oxford made Swift a Dean, or Bolingbroke made Prior an Ambassador, it was considered no badge of dependence or painful inferiority. It was, of course, desirable for Swift to rise in the Church, and for Prior to rise in the State; but it was also desirable for the administration to secure the assistance of an eloquent writer, and of a skilful diplomatist.

It may, moreover, be observed that literary profits do not in all respects supply the place of literary patronage. First, there are several studies — such as many branches of science or antiquities — which are highly deserving of encouragement, but not generally popular, and therefore not productive of emolument. In these cases the liberality of the Government might sometimes usefully atone for the indifference of the public. But even with the most popular authors, the necessity of looking to

their literary labours for their daily bread, has not unfrequently an unfavourable effect upon the former. It may compel, or at least induce, them to over-write themselves; to pour forth hasty and immature productions; to keep at all hazards their names before the public. How seldom can they admit intervals of leisure, or allow their minds to lie fallow for a season, in order to bear hereafter a larger and a better harvest! In like manner, they must minister to the taste of the public, whatever that taste may be, and sometimes have to sacrifice their own ideas of beauty, and aspirations of fame. These are undoubted evils, not merely to them, but to us; and as undoubtedly are they guarded against whenever a fixed and competent provision can be granted to genius. I am therefore clearly of opinion, that any Minister who might have the noble ambition to become the patron of literary men, would still find a large field open to his munificence; that his intercourse with them on the footing of equal friendship would be a deserved distinction to them, and a liberal recreation to himself; that his favours might be employed with great advantage, and received with perfect independence.

In 1721, however, there were no resources in the public. The number of readers was so limited, that the most incessant labour was seldom sufficient to gain a decent maintenance for writers. It was therefore with a bitter pang that they saw Sir Robert Walpole suddenly turn aside from the example of his

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predecessors, and resolutely shut the door of patronage in the face of genius. The twenty years of his administration were to them a bleak and barren winter. Looking as he did solely to the House of Commons and to the Court, and measuring the value of every thing by Parliamentary votes or Royal smiles, he despised a literature which the King despised, and which had no influence upon the Legislature. Books, he seems to have thought, were fit only for idle and useless men. The writers of books, therefore, he left to dig, to beg, or to starve. It is truly painful to read of the wretched privations, and still more wretched shifts, to which men of such abilities as Savage were exposed. Their books, their linen, were most frequently in pawn. To obtain a good meal was a rare and difficult achievement. They were sometimes reduced, for want of house-room, to wander all night about the streets. They had to sleep on a bulk in summer, and in winter amidst the ashes of a glass-house. "In this manner," says Johnson, "were passed "those days and those nights which nature had "enabled them to have employed in elevated "speculations, useful studies, or pleasing convers-"ation. On a bulk, in a cellar, or in a glass-"house, among thieves and beggars, was to be "found the author of 'The Wanderer;' the man "of exalted sentiments, extensive views, and cu-"rious observations; the man whose remarks on "life might have assisted the statesman, and whose "ideas of virtue might have enlightened the

"moralist."* Johnson, who has commemorated these calamities, himself for many years had shared them. With Savage he had rambled houseless in the streets, with Savage he had struggled against the pangs of cold and hunger. Nor was this suffering all. Whenever it was relieved by a sudden supply of money, there commonly ensued a scene of the wildest riot and profusion. There was a constant alternation between beggary and extravagance. The half-starved poet rushed with his only guinea to the tavern, to enjoy one night of splendid luxury, while his shirt was still in pawn, and his cravat of paper; thus the subsistence for a thrifty week was lavished at a single revel; and as poverty had first produced dissipation, so did dissipation prolong and perpetuate poverty. Such, according to the testimony even of their friends, was the life of Savage and of Boyse.

It may easily be supposed that the Minister who dried up the stream of patronage would be no favourite with its former objects. Almost every writer of any name, either from principle or resentment, joined the ranks of Opposition, and were marshalled to the onset by the superior genius of Bolingbroke and Pulteney. The motives and measures of Sir Robert were attacked without moderation, and misrepresented without shame; and, in estimating the character of that Minister, we should, therefore, never fail to allow largely for

* Johnson's Life of Savage. See also Chalmers' Life of Boyse.

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calumnious falsehoods. Nay more, it is remarkable, and highly to the honour of Walpole, that those very measures against which the loudest clamours were raised, and which were selected by his adversaries as the special ground of their invective — such as Wood's Halfpence in Ireland, the Malt Tax in Scotland, and the Excise Bill in England, — when rightly and calmly examined, appear not only free from blame, but worthy of praise. But, even in making such great deductions from the exaggerations of a party press, we must condemn Walpole for neglecting and slighting its power. He did not see the danger in time, nor provide his remedy with skill. "No man," says a contemporary, "ever "set the press to work with so little judgment as "he did. He looked upon writing to be a mecha- "nical kind of business; and he took up with the "first pen that he could find in public offices, or "whom he could oblige by private liberality."* He hired his authors as he would his ditchers, holding no personal communication with them, but placing them, in general, under the guidance of Paxton, solicitor to the Treasury, or of other Ministerial subalterns; persons who in general may be observed to have more ignorance of and contempt for literature, than any other class of gentlemen. How could Walpole have expected much popular effect from such mercenary drudges as his party writers? Were these the men to stem the eloquence

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 15.

of Bolingbroke, or retort the irony of Swift? Some pamphlets of considerable power were, indeed, contributed in defence of the administration by Lord Hervey and Sir William Yonge; but, with a few exceptions, it may be said that all the talent and ingenuity were with the Opposition writers, and that the public mind was gradually and imperceptibly won over to their sentiments. The change was slow, but complete and universal; and thus Sir Robert Walpole's neglect of the public press may be classed amongst the foremost causes of his unpopularity and fall.

Queen Caroline, on the contrary, often wished to befriend learned and literary men; but, being thwarted in that respect both by the King and by the Minister, her wishes were seldom effectual, except in cases of church patronage. However, as her natural sweetness of temper made her unwilling to send any one discontented from her presence, she appears sometimes to have given promises, or at least raised expectations, that were not afterwards fulfilled. Swift, especially, conceived that he had the strongest reason to complain of her and Lady Suffolk; but his accusations are, as usual, clouded with spleen and satire. He was pining in his Irish Deanery, to which neither the dignity of his station, nor the flattery of his dependants, could ever reconcile him. Every letter from his friends in England recalled a brighter scene, and kindled his dormant regret. "After all," he writes to Gay, "this hum-drum way of life might be passable

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"enough, if you would let me alone. I shall not "be able to relish my wine, my parsons, my horses, "nor my gardens for three months, until the spirit "you have raised shall be dispossessed." * In 1726, he, for the first time since the death of Queen Anne, made a visit to England, apparently not unwilling to tender or accept overtures of reconciliation with the Court. He found Pope and Gay intimate with Lady Suffolk; he speedily became the friend of their friend; and this was a channel of communication with her mistress, then Princess of Wales. Yet Swift declares that, when the Princess wished to see him, she sent "at least nine "times" before he would obey her summons. When at length he did come, she received him very graciously. He began the conversation by telling her, that he was informed Her Royal Highness loved to see odd persons; and that, having sent for a wild boy from Germany, she had a curiosity to see a wild Dean from Ireland.† His powers of wit fully atoned for his want of courtly manners; and, during the few months of his stay, he became no unfrequent visitor at Leicester House.

With Walpole also, the Dean, by means of Lord Peterborough, obtained an interview, on the plea of laying before him the real state of Ireland. ‡ The

* Letter of January 8. 1723.

† Swift to Lady E. Germaine, January 8. 1733. The "wild "boy from Germany" was found in the woods of Hanover, in 1725, and considered a great phenomenon. See a note to Swift's Works, vol. xiii. p. 197.

‡ Swift to Lord Peterborough, April 28. 1726.

Minister received him with civility, heard him with attention, and asked him to dinner at Chelsea. But, if Swift expected any offers to be made for his advancement, or even any wish to be expressed for his support, he was wholly disappointed. Walpole, with his usual disregard of literary eminence, took no pains to conciliate this most powerful writer, and appears to have treated him exactly as he would any other Dean from Ireland. No wonder that Swift thought his great abilities misunderstood and slighted. He writes to Lady Suffolk, "Pray tell "Sir Robert Walpole that, if he does not use me "better next summer than he did last, I will study "revenge, and it shall be VENGEANCE ECCLESI-"ASTIQUE:" * — and he kept his word!

His second, and, as it proved, his last, journey to England, early next year, was heralded by the publication of his Gulliver's Travels; the most admirable satire ever conveyed in a narrative, and the most plausible disguise that fiction ever bore. So well is the style of the old English navigators copied — so much does there seem of their honest simplicity and plain common sense — so consistent is every part of the story — so natural all the events after the first improbability, — that the fable, even in its wildest flights, never loses an air of real truth. "I lent "the book," says Arbuthnot, "to an old gentle-"man, who went immediately to his map to search

* Letter of February 1. 1727.

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"for Lilliput." * In Ireland, one Bishop sagely observed, that for his part he hardly believed a word of it! †

We may also observe in these Travels, as the especial talent of Swift, his manner of implying or assuming as certain the charge he wishes to convey. To give only one instance:—"In Lilliput "the style of writing is very peculiar, being neither "from the left to the right, like the Europeans; nor "from the right to the left, like the Arabians; nor "from up to down, like the Chinese; but aslant "from one corner of the paper to the other, like "ladies in England!"

At the time of the publication, also, many strokes of satire, now no longer applicable, and therefore scarcely perceived, gave infinite delight. In the following passage, for example, he doubtless had in view the proceedings against Atterbury and Layer, and some of the Royal Speeches at that period:— "It was a custom in Lilliput, that, after the Court "had decreed any cruel execution, the Emperor "always made a speech to his whole Council, ex- "pressing his great lenity and tenderness, as qua- "lities known and expressed by all the world. "This speech was immediately published through- "out the kingdom; nor did any thing terrify the "people so much as these encomiums on His Ma- "jesty's mercy; because it was observed, that the

* Letter to Swift, November 8. 1726.
† Swift to Pope, November 17. 1726.

"more these praises were enlarged and insisted "on, the more inhuman was the punishment, and "the sufferer more innocent!"

Yet, though Gulliver thus abounds with satire upon Courts, he became a great favourite at the little Court of the Princess of Wales. Lady Suffolk and the Princess herself eagerly read the book, and warmly welcomed the author. Her Royal Highness graciously accepted from him a present of some Irish silks for herself and the young Princess, and promised him in return some medals, which, however, were at first delayed, and afterwards forgotten. Such little neglect is not very uncommon in private life, and does not seem to call for any very extraordinary indignation. But by Swift it was most bitterly resented: he has recorded it again and again both in prose and verse; and almost to the close of his life we find him complaining of the forgotten medals and unrequited silks! He might have known that in those times few things were less remembered than presents to Princes. A popular German writer tells us that, having once offered a costly picture to his sovereign, he was honoured with a warm embrace, and his picture with one of the best places in the gallery. But only a year afterwards he stood by, when his Highness showed the picture to a foreign minister, and said, "It is really a fine piece, and I rather "think that I bought it cheap!" *

* See Knigge, Umgang mit Menschen, vol. iii. p. 10. ed. 1813.

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From the manner in which Swift always harps upon his petty grievance of the medals, we may conclude that he had no greater to urge against the Court. On the death of George the First, he kissed their new Majesties' hands, and for some time buoyed himself with expectations *; but finding, to his mortification, Walpole confirmed in power, and more hostile than ever, he returned to Ireland; yet he did not, for some years, relinquish his friendly correspondence with Lady Suffolk; until at length losing all hope, and with hope all patience, he renounced her as false and faithless; declaring that "Bob, the poet's foe," possessed her ear; and from that time also he began to make the Queen the object of some of his sharpest satirical attacks.†

The resentment of Gay against the Queen had still less foundation. He had paid her assiduous court as Princess; and, a few weeks after coming to the throne, she said to Lady Suffolk, in allusion to one of Gay's Fables, that she would now take up the Hare with many Friends.‡ Accordingly she obtained for him the appointment of Gentleman Usher to one of the Princesses, a child about two years old. It was, in fact, an honourable sinecure, affording a provision for his wants, at the same time with leisure for his pen. An easy place of 200*l.*

* To Dr. Sheridan, June 24. 1727.

† See especially the Directions for writing a Birth-day Ode, and the Poem on his own death.

‡ Swift to Lady E. Germaine, January 8. 1733.

a year was surely no contemptible offer to one who had begun life as apprentice to a silk mercer, and who was now a thoughtless man of genius, without any knowledge of affairs. Yet Gay was persuaded by some officious friends, not merely to decline the offer, but to resent it as an insult. Soon afterwards he joined the Opposition, and declared his quarrel by the production of the Beggar's Opera, teeming with satirical strokes against the Court and Government. The name of Bob Booty, for example, always raised a laugh, being understood as levelled at Sir Robert Walpole. The first idea of this play appears to have sprung from a suggestion of Swift*; but the praise of its execution belongs entirely to Gay. Its brilliant success (it was acted for sixty-three nights without intermission) may be ascribed, in some degree, like that of Cato under Queen Anne, to party zeal: yet the pleasure with which it is still seen upon the stage is a proof of its real merit.

It must be owned, however, that the attacks of Gay and other dramatic authors at this time far outstepped the bounds that any Government could sanction. Not only did the measures of Walpole stand exposed to every kind of misrepresentation and malignity, but his person was brought on the stage, and his character made the sport of the players. The sequel which Gay wrote to the Beggar's Opera, under the name of Polly, went as far beyond it in violence as it fell short of it in

* Spence's Anecdotes, p. 159.

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talent; and the Lord Chamberlain exerted his almost dormant privilege to forbid it.* Gay was more than recompensed for this disappointment, through a subscription so liberally filled by the Opposition as to gain him nearly 1200*l.*, while the Beggar's Opera had only brought 400*l.*; so that, as Johnson observes, "what he called oppression ended in profit."† Other writers, having no such reputation as his to hazard, were restrained by no regard to it. Scurrilous personalities, low buffoonery, and undisguised sedition took possession of the stage, and the licentiousness of morals under Charles the Second was now exchanged for the licentiousness of liberty. The necessity of some curb to these excesses became evident to all parties. In 1735, Sir John Barnard brought in a Bill to restrain the number of playhouses, and regulate the stage; nor did there appear at first a single dissenting voice; but on Walpole attempting to introduce a clause to enlarge the power of the Lord Chamberlain, Barnard declared that he thought that power too great already, and the Bill was dropped.

In 1737, however, another occasion offered for Walpole to effect his object. A farce called the Golden Rump, abounding in sedition and blasphemy, was brought to him in manuscript, with the hope that he might give a considerable sum to purchase and suppress it. Walpole paid the money,

* The Beggar's Opera first appeared in 1728, and Polly in 1729. Baker's Biographia Dramatica, vol. i. p. 186.

† Life of Gay. See also Spence's Anecdotes, p. 214.

but immediately proceeded to extract the most objectionable passages, which he laid before several members of both parties, asking them, whether such a system should be suffered to continue. Being promised their support, he brought in his famous Playhouse Bill, under the form of an Amendment to the Vagrant Act. It declared, that any actor, without a legal settlement, or a licence from the Lord Chamberlain, should be deemed a rogue and vagabond. To the Lord Chamberlain it gave legal power, instead of customary privilege; authorising him to prohibit the representation of any drama at his discretion, and compelling all authors to send copies of their plays fourteen days before they were acted, under forfeiture of 50*l.* and of the licence of the House. Moreover, it restrained the number of playhouses, by enjoining that no person should have authority to act, except within the liberties of Westminster, and where the King should reside. This last clause appears to have been Sir John Barnard's first proposal.*

The Bill passed rapidly, and, as it would seem, without any division, through both Houses, but not without some very strong opposition, especially a celebrated speech from Lord Chesterfield. All parties agree in representing this effort of his oratory as one of the most brilliant ever yet heard in Parliament. It contains many eloquent predic-

* See Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 516. Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 350.; and Baker's Biographia Dramatica, Introduction, p. xlii.

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tions, that, should the Bill be enacted, the ruin of liberty and the introduction of despotism must inevitably follow. Yet even Chesterfield owns that he has "observed of late a remarkable licentiousness in the stage. In one play, very lately acted (Pasquin), the author thought fit to represent the three great professions, religion, physic, and law, as inconsistent with common sense; in another (King Charles the First), a most tragical story was brought upon the stage, — a catastrophe too recent, too melancholy, and of too solemn a nature, to be heard of any where but from the pulpit. How these pieces came to pass unpunished, I do not know; if I am rightly informed, it was not for want of law, but for want of prosecution, without which no law can be made effectual. But, if there was any neglect in this case, I am convinced it was not with a design to prepare the minds of the people, and to make them think a new law necessary!"

Such an insinuation could not fail to have weight out of doors; and still more adapted to popular effect was the name he gives the proposed licensing department, as "a new Excise Office!" But the following plausible arguments might have misled superior understandings: — "The Bill, my Lords, at first view, may seem to be designed only against the stage; but to me it plainly appears to point somewhere else. It is an arrow that does but glance upon the stage: the mortal wound seems designed against the liberty of the

" press. By this Bill you prevent a play's being
" acted, but you do not prevent its being printed.
" Therefore, if a licence should be refused for its
" being acted, we may depend upon it the play will
" be printed. It will be printed and published,
" my Lords, with the refusal, in capital letters,
" upon the titlepage. People are always fond of
" what is forbidden. LIBRI PROHIBITI are, in all
" countries, diligently and generally sought after.
" It will be much easier to procure a refusal than
" it ever was to procure a good house or a good
" sale; therefore we may expect that plays will
" be wrote on purpose to have a refusal: this
" will certainly procure a good house or a good
" sale. Thus will satires be spread and dispersed
" through the whole nation; and thus every man
" in the kingdom may, and probably will, read for
" sixpence what a few only could have seen acted,
" and that not under the expense of half a crown.
" We shall then be told, What! will you allow an
" infamous libel to be printed and dispersed, which
" you would not allow to be acted? .... If we
" agree to the Bill now before us, we must, per-
" haps, next session agree to a Bill for preventing
" any plays being printed without a licence. Then
" satires will be wrote by way of novels, secret
" histories, dialogues, or under some such title;
" and thereupon we shall be told, What! will you
" allow an infamous libel to be printed and dis-
" persed, only because it does not bear the title
" of a play? Thus, my Lords, from the precedent

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"now before us, we shall be induced, nay, we can "find no reason for refusing, to lay the press "under a general licence, and then we may bid "adieu to the liberties of Great Britain."

Yet, however ingenious this reasoning, it has been refuted by that greatest of all controversialists—Time. The Bill has passed, and a hundred years have rolled away; yet still we are not a people of slaves. The liberty of the press stands more firmly than ever. The stage has lost its disgraceful personalities, not its salutary satire. No genius has been checked, no freedom violated, and the powers of the Lord Chamberlain's department have been exercised with less reference to party than almost any other in the state. It sounds well, to say that an honest Government need not fear invective, and that a wicked Government ought not to be screened from it; yet experience shows that no merit can escape detraction; that scoffs, not arguments, are the weapons of the stage; that a lower and less reflecting class is there addressed than through the press; and that, even without reference to ministers, some precaution is required to guard religion from profaneness, and Royalty from insult. It is probable, therefore, that no future Legislature will be induced to forego this necessary control, and that, although any abuse or mal-administration of the power should be jealously watched, the power itself should be as eagerly protected.

CHAPTER XIX.

METHODISM.

A HISTORY of England in the times of George the Second would be strangely incomplete were it to leave untouched that religious revolution which, despised at its commencement, but powerful in its effects, is known by the name of Methodism. With less immediate importance than wars or political changes, it endures long after, not only the result, but the memory of these has passed away, and thousands who never heard of Fontenoy or Walpole, continue to follow the precepts and venerate the name of John Wesley.*

This remarkable man was born in 1703 at Ep-

* My authorities in this chapter are mainly Wesley's Works, 16 vols. ed. 1809, especially his Journals in the six first volumes; Whitefield's Journals, part i. and ii. ed. 1756; Mr. W. Myles's Chronology of Methodism, ed. 1813; and his Life of the Rev. W. Grimshaw, ed. 1806; and the Minutes of the Methodist Conferences from 1744 till Wesley's death. From these I can venture to bear my testimony to the accuracy of Mr. Southey's eloquent narrative, and I have derived great advantage from it; but I have also consulted the observations of his critic, Mr. Richard Watson.

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worth, in Lincolnshire. His father was rector of that parish, a divine of great piety and learning, but of passionate and violent temper. On one occasion, finding that Mrs. Wesley was not so firmly persuaded as himself of the right of King William, and thinking, no doubt, that a just view of the Royal Succession is indispensable to the duties of a wife, he made a vow that he would never cohabit with her till she changed her opinion, and immediately left the house; nor did she ever hear from him again, before the death of the King, which fortunately happened a twelvemonth afterwards. John was their first child after their reunion; but they had also several others, and the exertions of John in after life were most ably and faithfully seconded by his brother Charles.

From an early age, John Wesley plunged into religious studies with an unwearied diligence, with a piercing intellect, with an ardent, but sometimes ascetic, piety. He was educated at Oxford, ordained by Bishop Potter, and afterwards appointed curate to his father. During this time Charles Wesley had also gone to Oxford, and likewise adopted an enthusiastic and austere view of religious duty, which, while it alienated the greater number, closely attached to him a few kindred spirits. Among these was Harvey, afterwards author of the well known Meditations, and Whitefield, at first a waiter in a country inn. These zealous young men used to meet together for spiritual im-

provement, but shunned all other intercourse; and they received various nicknames in derision, such as Sacramentarians, from their taking the Eucharist weekly; Bible Moths, from their constant reading of the Scriptures; and finally, from their living by rule and method, Methodists; a by-word which they themselves afterwards adopted. When John Wesley returned to Oxford, they all readily followed his guidance; but in spite of their peculiarities, no idea of separation from the Church was entertained, and several of this little society soon left it to go forth into the world.

The two Wesleys, full of zeal for the conversion of the heathen, embarked for the new settlement of Georgia. But the dissolute habits of the Colonists were a strong bar to the propagation of the pure faith which they professed. When the Missionaries pressed Tomo-Chichi, an Indian chief, to become a Christian, the poor savage exclaimed: — "Why these are Christians at Sa-"vannah! Christian much drunk! Christian beat "men! Christian tell lies!" — It is very strange, however, that Wesley never appears to have taken any step to acquire the language of these Indians; a neglect which, in a man who never spared himself, cannot possibly be imputed to any want of ardour or activity, but which may perhaps be explained by some unfavourable omen; for we find that, when doubtful on any resolution, he used to try drawing lots, and call the result "the answer

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" of God ;" a superstition precisely similar to those of sortilege and ordeal in the darkest ages. In the spirit of those ages also were his monkish austerities; at one time he entirely left off meat and wine; he attempted to sustain life by bread only; he thought it meritorious to sleep on the floor rather than in a bed. * Yet let me observe, that these errors cannot fairly be imputed to Wesley's own maturer years, or, still less, to the great body of his followers at that time.

In 1738, Wesley returned to England after an absence of above two years. Meanwhile, the little society he had left at Oxford had continued to grow and thrive. It had even struck root in London, and an association, formed on its principles, used to meet in Fetter Lane. Whitefield, having been ordained by Bishop Benson, soon attracted much notice by the eloquence, the enthusiasm, and the indiscretion of his sermons; and the same path was followed by Wesley with equal zeal and superior abilities. The first instance of field-preaching was by Whitefield to the colliers at Kingswood, near Bristol. These poor men had been left without any place or means of religious worship, so that to address them from the summit of a green knoll instead of a pulpit was scarcely a matter of choice. Well might the preacher's heart exult when he found, in a few weeks, twenty

* Wesley's Journal, October 20. 1735, January 30. 1736, &c.

thousand people gathered round him from their coal-pits*, and saw, as he says, the white gutters made by the tears which plentifully fell down their black cheeks! Negligent indeed must have been the reapers, where there was left so much to glean!

The practice thus begun from the want of a Church was soon continued from a different necessity; when the extravagancies of the new preachers caused most of the regular pulpits to be closed against them. "I could scarce," says Wesley, "reconcile myself at first to this strange way."† He still earnestly wished to adhere to the Church; in fact, both he and his brother Charles had at this time so much horror of schism as to form a project (most properly checked by the Bishops) for the re-baptizing of Dissenters! But the fever of fanaticism was now upon him, and transported him to many things of which his calmer reason disapproved. Like all enthusiasts, he began to consider the most ordinary and trifling occurrences as miraculous manifestations of a special Providence. Thus, for example, on one of his journies, dining at Birmingham, he omitted, as was his wont, to instruct the servants who had attended him, and a violent hail-storm having ensued when he left the town, he believed it a divine reproof

* Whitefield's Journal, March 25. 1739.

† Journal, March 29. 1739. But on the 1st of next April, he observes, that "our Lord's Sermon on the Mount is a pretty "remarkable precedent of field-preaching."

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for his neglect! * When, on the contrary, a shower passes by him, Wesley repeatedly interprets it as a special Providence in his behalf. Any thing seemed to him more probable than that the elements should roll on their appointed course for the regulation of seasons, and the sustenance of millions! Any thing seemed more probable than that there should not be a miracle!

At this period, also, Wesley lent his ear to certain convulsions and ravings that began to seize some of his hearers, especially the female portion of them. They used to fall prostrate to the ground, to gnash their teeth, to rave and struggle, and in some cases to declare themselves possessed by evil spirits; and Wesley believed it! Many instances of this kind are recorded in his Journals. On another occasion, whilst he was preaching, great laughter prevailed amongst the congregation. This he thought clearly supernatural. "Most of our brethren and sisters "were convinced, that those who were under this "strange temptation could not help it. Only "Edith B. and Anne H. were of another mind, "being still sure any one might help laughing if "she would. This they declared to many on "Thursday, but on Friday God suffered Satan to "teach them better. Both of them were suddenly "seized in the same manner as the rest, and "laughed whether they would or not, almost with-"out ceasing. Thus they continued for two days,

* Wesley's Journal, March 16. 1738.

"a spectacle to all, and were then, upon prayer "made for them, delivered in a moment."*

Charles Wesley, however, was less credulous; and sometimes detected an imposition, where his brother could only see a miracle. Once, when he was preaching at Kingswood, he saw a woman distorting herself, and calling out as if in agony; he quietly told her that he did not think the better of her for it, and she immediately became quite calm. Another woman, at Bristol, when he questioned her in private, respecting her frequent fits, at length owned that they were for the purpose of making Mr. Wesley take notice of her. In many other cases, the convulsions were no doubt real and unfeigned; the effect of austere fasting or of ignorant fanaticism; of an empty stomach, or an empty brain.

Moreover, almost from its birth, the new society was rent asunder by a violent schism. It had hitherto acted in communion with the Moravians, a sect recently founded in Germany, but whose English followers had engrafted fresh singularities on the parent stock. From an extremity of religious zeal, these Moravians had come round to the same point as those who lack it altogether. They made a jest of religious observances, such as going to church or to the sacrament; for they argued, he who has not faith ought not to use these things, and he who has faith does not want them.

* Wesley's Journal, June 21. 1740.

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One Moravian even went so far as to say, while discoursing in public, that as many go to hell by praying as by thieving.* Wesley naturally protested against these fanatics; they were also condemned by the chief of the sect in Germany, and the union between the Methodists and the better Moravians might perhaps still have been preserved. But Wesley, according to his usual system of drawing lots, under the idea of consulting Providence, had fallen upon the text, "What is that to thee? Follow "thou me;" and from that moment thought himself bound to oppose all reconciliation.

A still more important breach for the Methodists next arose, when their own house became divided against itself. Whitefield, a man younger in years, and inferior both in learning and talents to Wesley, had hitherto treated him with almost the deference of a pupil, and in their correspondence at this time calls himself "a child, who is willing to wash your "feet." They differed, however, on the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. "What is there "in reprobation so horrid?" asks Whitefield. "How," exclaims Wesley, "the elect shall be "saved do what they will! The rest shall be "damned, do what they can!" An ample discussion on this mysterious subject failed to reconcile them; but seeing the evil of fresh divisions, and anxious to afford no triumph to their common adversaries, they wished to refrain from preaching

* See Wesley's Works, vol. ii. p. 100. ed. 1[illegible]

upon it, or assailing each other in public. But enthusiasts, who would brave any other suffering, can never long endure the agony of moderation. Wesley soon again cast a lot for his guidance: his lot, which seems generally to have followed his preceding inclination, was, this time, "Preach and "Print;" and he accordingly not only preached, but printed a sermon against the doctrine of election. Whitefield, on his part, took fire at this aggression, and the more so as his expressions at this time show the growing ascendency over him of spiritual pride. "I have a garden near at hand, "where I go particularly to meet and talk with my "God at the cool of every day..... Our dear "Lord sweetly fills me with his presence. My "Heaven is begun indeed. I feast on the fatted "calf. The Lord strengthens me mightily in the "inner man."— A man who could write and feel thus, was not likely to brook any opposition to any internal impulse: he wrote an acrimonious letter against Wesley, which his indiscreet friends sent to the press in London. Well might Wesley complain of the intemperate style and surreptitious publication; well might he tear a copy to pieces before his congregation, saying, that he believed he did just what Mr. Whitefield would, were he there himself!

The superstitions and excesses of the first Methodists cannot be concealed, with due regard to truth. But it is no less due to truth to acknowledge their high and eminent qualities. If to sacrifice every advantage, and to suffer every hard-

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ship — if to labour for the good, real or supposed, of their fellow-creatures, with all their heart, with all their soul, and with all their strength — if, the most fervent devotion — if the most unconquerable energy, be deserving of respect, let us not speak slightingly of those spiritual leaders, who, mighty even in their errors, and honest even in their contradictions, have stamped their character on their own and on the present times. It is proper to record, it is easy to deride, their frailties; but let us, ere we contemn them, seriously ask ourselves whether we should be equally ready to do and bear every thing in the cause of conscience,—whether, like them, we could fling away all thought of personal ease and personal advantage. It has often been said, that there is no virtue without sacrifices; but surely, it is equally true, that there are no sacrifices without virtue. Generous actions often spring from error; but still we must prefer such error to a selfish and lazy wisdom, and, though neither Jacobites nor Methodists, we may admire the enthusiasm of a Lochiel in politics, and of a Wesley in religion.

The breach with the Moravians, and with the party of Whitefield, left Wesley sole and undisputed chief of the remaining brotherhood, and the gap thus made was far more than repaired by the growing multitude of converts. Methodism began to rear its head throughout the land, and the current of events soon carried Wesley far beyond the bounds which he himself had formerly drawn. Thus, he had condemned field-preaching, until he

felt the want of pulpits; thus, also, he had condemned lay-preaching, until it appeared that very few clergymen were disposed to become his followers. Slowly, and reluctantly, did he agree that laymen should go round and preach, though not to minister. These were, for the most part, untaught and fiery men, drawn from the loom or the plough by the impulse of an ardent zeal; but not unfrequently of strong intellect, and always of unwearied exertion. Their inferiority to Wesley in birth and education made them only the more willing instruments in his hands; their enthusiasm, it was hoped, would supply every deficiency; and it was found easier, instead of acquiring learning, to contemn it as dross. Their sermons, accordingly, had more of heat than of light, and they not unfrequently ran into extremes, which Wesley himself cannot have approved, and of which it would be easy, but needless, to multiply extraordinary instances. Their rules were very strict; they were required to undergo every hardship, and to abstain from every innocent indulgence, as, for example, from snuff.* But their organization was admirable. Directed by Wesley, as from a common centre, they were constantly transferred from station to station, thus affording to the people the excitement of novelty, and to the Preacher the necessity of labour. The Conference, which assembled once every year, and consisted of preachers selected by Wesley, was his Central Board or

* "Let no preacher touch snuff on any account. Show the "societies the evil of it." Minutes of Conference, Aug. 1765.

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Administrative Council, and gave weight and authority to his decisions. Every where the Methodists were divided into classes, a leader being appointed to every class, and a meeting held weekly, when admonitions were made, money contributed, and proceedings reported. There were also, in every quarter, to be Love Feasts,—an ancient institution, intended to knit still closer the bands of Christian brotherhood. Whenever a member became guilty of any gross offence, he was excluded from the Society, so as to remove the Methodists as much as possible from the contagion of bad example, and enable them to boast that their little flock was without a single black sheep. It would be difficult even in the Monastic orders to display a more regular and well-adapted system. Like those Monastic orders the Methodists might still have remained in communion with the Church of their country; but in later life Wesley went several steps further, and took it upon him to ordain Ministers, and even Bishops, for his brethren in America.

Yet with all this, Wesley never relinquished, in words at least, his attachment and adherence to the Church of England. On this point, his language was equally strong from first to last. We find, in 1739: "A serious clergyman desired to know in what "points we differed from the Church of England. I "answered, to the best of my knowledge, in none."* In 1766, he says: "We are not Dissenters from

* Journal, September 13. 1739.

"the Church, and will do nothing willingly which "tends to a separation from it..... Our service "is not such as supersedes the Church-service: "we never designed it should."* And in December, 1789, only a few months before his death: "I never had any design of separating from the "Church: I have no such design now..... I de- "clare, once more, that I live and die a member of "the Church of England, and that none who re- "gard my judgment or advice will ever separate "from it."†—But, as we have seen, the conduct of Wesley did not always keep pace with these intentions, and his followers have departed from them far more widely. Several, who joined the Methodists from other sects, brought with them an unfriendly feeling to the Church; several others, who would have shrunk with horror from any thing called schism, were less shocked at the words Dissent or Separate Connexion; for of course when the name is changed, the thing is no longer the same!—Yet even in the present times an eminent Methodist observes, that, although the relation to the Church has greatly altered since the days of Wesley, dissent has never been formally professed by his persuasion, and that "it forms "a middle body between the Establishment and "the Dissenters."‡

* Minutes of Methodist Conferences, August, 1766.

† See Wesley's Works, vol. xv. p. 248.

‡ Mr. Watson's Observations on Southey's Life, p. 138. and 159. ed. 1821.

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None of Wesley's tenets were, as he believed, at variance with the Church of England. His favourite doctrines were what he termed the New Birth, Perfection, and Assurance. It is not my intention to entangle myself or my readers in the mazes of controversy; and I shall therefore only observe, that Wesley at his outset pushed these doctrines to a perilous extreme; but that, when his fever of enthusiasm had subsided to a healthy vital heat, he greatly modified and softened his first ideas. He still clung, however, to the same words, but gave them a narrower meaning; so that once, when defending his views on Perfection to Bishop Gibson, the Prelate answered: "Why, Mr. Wesley, "if this is what you mean by Perfection, who can "be against it?"—But unhappily the multitude is incapable of such nice distinctions, and apt to take words in their simple and common meaning. These doctrines, in a wider sense, soon became popular, for they gratified spiritual pride, which is too often the besetting sin of those who have no other.

The object of Wesley was, as he avowed it, not to secede from the Church of England, not to innovate upon its doctrines, but to infuse new life and vigour into its members. It becomes, therefore, an important question, how far, at this period, the clergy may be justly charged with neglect, or the people with indifference. And if we consult writers the most various in their views and feelings and opinions on most other points, we shall find them

agree in lamenting the state of religion in that age. Bishop Burnet, in the conclusion of his History, in 1713 entirely acquits the Clergy of any scandalous faults; but complains that their lives, though decorous, were not exemplary. "I must own," he says, "that the main body of our Clergy has always "appeared dead and lifeless to me, and instead of "animating one another, they seem rather to lay "one another to sleep..... I say it with great "regret, I have observed the Clergy in all the "places through which I have travelled — Papists, "Lutherans, Calvinists, and Dissenters; but of "them all, our Clergy is much the most remiss in "their labours in private, and the least severe in "their lives." These are the words of a Whig; the testimony of a Tory Prelate is equally strong. In 1711, Atterbury drew up a representation of the State of Religion, which was presented by the Convocation to the Queen. This Memorial complains of "the manifest growth of immorality and "profaneness,"—"the relaxation and decay of the "discipline of the Church;" and observes, that "a due regard to religious persons, places, and "things, hath scarce in any age been more "wanting."* My third witness shall be the eminent Dissenting Minister, Dr. Calamy, who, while endeavouring to prove that his sect had not decreased in numbers in 1730, admits, "But at the

* See Atterbury's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 327—349. ed. 1783.

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"same time, a real decay of serious religion, both "in the Church and out of it, was very visible."* The Church, beyond all doubt, still comprised very many ministers of powerful talents and eminent piety; but these stars in the firmament, though bright themselves, were not sufficient to dispel the surrounding darkness.

This decline in an establishment which has shown so much efficiency and excellence, both before and since, may, in a great measure, be traced to the political divisions of that period. At the Revolution it appeared that many, who had most bravely withstood despotic power, were no less steady assertors of hereditary right. They would not allow the King to take more than his prerogative; they would not allow themselves to give less. They admitted that the tyranny of James had forfeited the throne; but they maintained that, in such a case, as in the event of his natural demise, the next heir should be immediately acknowledged. The courtiers, indeed, had no such scruples, and those who had heaped incense before the Tyrant, were quite ready to bow the knee before the Deliverer. The sturdiest partisans of James appeared amongst his former victims. Of the seven Bishops whom he had persecuted and imprisoned, five refused to take the oath of allegiance to William; their example was followed by not a few of the inferior clergy; and though

* Calamy's Life and Times, vol. ii. p. 531.

the greater number were willing to approve of, or to acquiesce in, the ruling government, yet their concurrence was cold and formal; and it was evident that they considered the accession of William not so much positive good, as the least of two evils. The abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, however needful, did not tend to allay their apprehensions; and the untimely death of the young Duke of Gloucester dashed their hopes that the seed of the "Royal Martyr" would still inherit the land. They disliked the prospect of a German successor: they were not pleased with that successor when he came, and they complained that the Tory party was so wholly shut out from his counsels; an exclusion of which they saw the disadvantages, but could not so well appreciate the necessity. Thus, then, in the whole period since 1688, except the four last years of Queen Anne, a large proportion of the clergy were in a state of dissatisfaction, and opposition to the Ministers, if not to the Sovereign.

From this unnatural alienation between the Church and State, there soon followed another between the higher and lower clergy. The new Government, as might be supposed, selected its Bishops from its small minority of partisans, rather than from the unfriendly majority; and thus it happened that most of the clergy came to be on one side, and most of the Bishops on the other. Many of the new prelates were, like Tillotson, an honour to their country and to their calling; but

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the evil I have mentioned was inherent in the system, and did not depend upon the men. The body ecclesiastical became unnerved and disjointed; the head ceased to direct the limbs, and the limbs to obey the head. While the Convocation sat, there were most violent wranglings between the two Houses; after its cessation there was more silence, but not greater satisfaction. The result was a total decay of discipline; for where there is no confidence and cordiality, discipline can only be enforced by harsh measures, and these were repugnant to the gentle spirit of the Bishops. They therefore allowed their authority to sleep, except in the rare cases of any gross irregularity; they had seldom any labour of love, and their fatherly guidance was no more.

In like manner, and from the same causes, the Universities clashed with the heads of the Church and of the Government. In Oxford, especially, the High Church principles were dominant, and most of the resident members were Jacobites almost without disguise. Considering how severely that University had smarted under the tyranny of the last Stuart, its Jacobitism surely deserves high respect, as a most disinterested and sincere, though most mistaken, principle of loyalty. Cambridge, partly perhaps from rivalry to Oxford, was more friendly to the House of Hanover; but even there the High Churchmen formed, to say the least of it, a very powerful minority. On the whole, these seats of learning were considered decidedly hostile by the Government; and we find that in 1716 Archbishop

Wake was preparing a Bill to assert the supremacy of the Crown, and regulate the two Universities.* In such unprofitable dissensions were those energies consumed which might else have wrought out such great deeds for the service of religion.

Another cause of neglect in the Clergy, was want of rivalry and emulation. No other sect was then in active competition with them. The Roman Catholics had been struck down by the victorious arms of William, and bound fast by the penal laws of Anne. The Protestant Nonconformists had greatly fallen off, both in numbers and energy.† Under such circumstances a general coldness and deadness ensued even from apparent triumph; and the Church Militant, with no visible enemy before it, broke its ranks and laid aside its arms.

In many places, again, the population had outgrown the size of the Establishment. Where provision had been made for the religious care of only some small hamlet, a numerous race of manufacturers or miners had frequently sprung up. Many villages were swelling into towns, many towns into cities. It is a matter deeply affecting the former character of the Church, as well as its present interests, that provision was not made at an earlier period for these increasing wants. If we except

* Lord Townshend to Secretary Stanhope, November 2. 1716.

† Several tracts were published, especially in 1730, accounting for this decrease in various ways, but all admitting the fact. See Calamy's Life and Times, vol. ii. p. 529. One of the tracts was entitled, "Free Thoughts on the most probable means of "reviving the Dissenting Interest."

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Queen Anne's bounty, little care seems to have been taken for the enlargement of small livings, the diminution of pluralities, and the building of new churches.* The fields were ripe for the harvest, but it was left for the Methodists to gather.

A Church Establishment cannot have a worse enemy than its own want of vigour, and is never really secure but when it is really useful. Twenty years before that great awakening of the human mind which we term the Reformation, when the Church of Rome sat supremely enthroned over the whole Christian world, and every heresy had been quenched in flame—even then its abuses and intolerance were preparing their own correction, and the keen eye of Comines could discern the coming and desired dawn.† Thus, also, in the reign of George the First, the reflecting few could perceive that the Church of England, though pure as ever in doctrine, was impaired in energy, and must have either help or opposition to stir it. That impulse was in a great measure given by the Methodists. The Clergy caught their spirit, but refined it from their alloy of enthusiasm. The discipline of the Church was gradually revived, and its deficiencies supplied. Every year the Establishment rose higher and higher in efficiency and usefulness; and

* The sum paid during the whole reign of George the Second (thirty-three years) for building churches, including the repairs of Westminster Abbey and of St. Margaret's and St. John's, Westminster, amounted only to 152,240*l.* (Sinclair's History of the Revenue, part iii. p. 61.)

† Comines, Mem. lib. vii. ch. 15.

it has checked and arrested the progress of the Methodists, not so much by their faults, as by its merits. At no period had it lost its hold upon the great body of the people; but it now struck still deeper roots into their hearts,—roots of which the unconquerable strength will be found, if ever an attempt be made to pluck it out. Looking to all its branches,—to the noble army of missionaries toiling on a foreign shore for its extension—to the controversialists arrayed at home for its defence —to what is, perhaps, of all things the most difficult, great accomplishments contentedly confined to an humble sphere, and satisfied with obscure parochial duties,—how much at the present time shall we find scope to praise and to admire! We may question now whether in virtue, in piety, in usefulness, any Church of modern times could equal ours. Nor let any false shame hinder us from owning that, though other causes also were at work, it is to the Methodists that great part of the merit is due. Whilst, therefore, we trace their early enthusiasm and perverted views, and the mischief which these have undoubtedly caused, as well as the evils of the present separation, let us never forget or deny the great countervailing advantage.

Nowhere had the Church been so fatally inactive as in Ireland. When Wesley first visited that country, in 1747, he observes, "at least 99 in 100 "of the native Irish remain in the religion of their "forefathers. The Protestants, whether in Dublin "or elsewhere, are almost all transplanted lately

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"from England."* The unsettled and lawless state of Ireland, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, may be admitted as a valid excuse for not advancing the work of the Reformation. But after the battle of the Boyne, it ought surely to have been one of the first objects of the Church and of the Government, to afford to the Irish people the means of education, and the choice of the Protestant religion. There was no want of a favourable opening. The Roman Catholic priests, humbled by recent defeats, could not at that period have ventured to withstand the reading of the Scriptures, or the exhortations of the Clergy. Had the Irish peasantry been addressed in the Irish language — had the activity of the Establishment been equal to its power, — those who believe the Protestant religion to be the truth, can scarcely doubt that here, as elsewhere, the truth would have triumphantly prevailed. But unhappily no such measures were taken. It was found more easy to proscribe than to instruct. In 1735 the excellent Bishop Berkeley complains of the "want of decent churches" in towns, and in the country of "able "missionaries, persons conversant in low life, and "speaking the Irish tongue..... Is there any in-"stance," he asks, "of a people's being converted "in a Christian sense, otherwise than by preaching

* Journal, August 15. 1747. In another part of his Works (vol. xv. p. 209.), he says, "In many parts of Ireland there are "still ten, nay fifteen, perhaps upwards of twenty Papists to "one Protestant."

"to them and instructing them in their own "language?"* Instead of such means, it was attempted to make Protestants by Acts of Parliament. Then came the penal laws, which so long defiled the Statute Book, to the disgrace of one party, as much as to the oppression of the other; and mitigated only by their own extreme violence, which often left them a dead letter! Meanwhile the favourable opportunity passed away; and, before a better spirit came, the Roman Catholic priests had recovered from their depression, and the peasantry been stung into a sense of resentment. Wesley himself made little progress in Ireland. The people, indeed, he describes as most ready to hear: "they "are," he says, "in general of a more teachable "spirit than in most parts of England;" and again, "their hearts seem to be as melting wax."† But the priests, finding that he was not only unsupported, but opposed by the ruling powers, took courage and exerted their authority to prevent his being heard. At Athlone, he tells us, May 7. 1749: "Abundance of Papists flocked to hear, so that the "priest, seeing his command did not avail, came "in person and drove them away before him like a "flock of sheep." The same thing occurred in other places. A ridiculous by-word also (they were called Swaddlers) tended to prevent the progress of the Methodists; for, it may be observed,

* Bishop Berkeley's Works, vol. ii. p. 381. and 396. ed. 1784.

† Wesley's Journal, August 17. 1747, and May 30. 1749.

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that, with the multitude, a nickname is far more effectual than an argument. The origin of this appellation is thus related by Wesley. "Swaddler "was a name given to Mr. Cennick first, by a "Popish priest, who heard him speak of a child "wrapped in swaddling clothes, and probably did "not know the expression was in the Bible, a book "he was not much acquainted with!"*

Wesley was now travelling from country to country, and from town to town, every where preaching and gaining proselytes. No where did he attract more attention than at his own birth-place of Epworth. He applied to the curate for the use of the pulpit—his father's for forty years: he was refused, and, attending the service, he heard, with great composure, a sermon against the evils of enthusiasm. But as the congregation were separating, they were informed that Mr. Wesley, having been denied the church, intended to preach that evening in the church-yard. There he accordingly appeared, and there, standing upon his father's grave, he delivered a most affecting discourse. Every eye was moistened, every heart was moved. One gentleman, who had not attended any public worship for thirty years, but was led by curiosity to hear Wesley at Epworth, was at once reclaimed from irreligion during the remainder of his life.† In other places, also, the same good seed was sown. An affecting story is

* Journal, May 25. 1750.

† Compare Wesley's Journal, June 12. 1742, (his sixth day at Epworth), and April 17. 1752.

told, for example, of one poor woman who was saved from suicide, for, when already on her way to throw herself into the river, she was attracted by the sounds of a Methodist meeting, and, entering in, heard the words of hope and consolation. But the effect of Wesley's preaching was by no means uniform, nor all for good. While some minds were awakened to repentance, others were spurred into frenzy. While some began to look upon religion as their rule and guide in worldly business, others viewed it as an ecstasy that should supersede worldly business altogether.

It may be observed, however, that many persons joined the Methodists in a first impulse, and afterwards left them. When Wesley came to Newcastle, in March, 1743, he found that, since the end of last December, seventy-six persons had left the society, and he took the pains to ascertain the motives of each. Fourteen of them (chiefly Dissenters) said they left it, "because, otherwise, "their Ministers would not give them the Sacra-"ment;" nine more, "because their husbands, or "wives, were not willing they should stay in it;" "twelve, "because their parents were not will-"ing;" five, "because their master and mistress "would not let them come;" seven, "because "their acquaintance persuaded them to leave "it;" five, "because people said such bad "things of the society;" nine, "because they "would not be laughed at;" three, "because "they would not lose the poor allowance;"

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three more, "because they could not spare time "to come;" two, "because it was so far off;" one, "because she was afraid of falling into fits;" one, "because people were so rude in the street;" two, "because Thomas Naisbit was in the so- "ciety;" one, "because he would not turn his "back on his baptism;" one, "because the "Methodists were mere Church of England men;" and one, "because it was time enough to serve "God yet."* Another person, a gentleman, whom Wesley met a few days after in the streets, said, with much earnestness, that he would come and hear him, only he was afraid that Wesley should say something against cockfighting!—A lamentable array of motives for relinquishing a religious persuasion! But were the reasons of those who joined it always so much better?

That very many persons were drawn to Wesley by a pious and Christian impulse is undeniable. But it can scarcely be doubted that a love of novelty and the strangeness of field-preaching were the magnets that attracted many others. Wherever curiosity was not kept alive by frequent changes of preachers, or wherever preaching in the open air was superseded by meeting-houses, the excitement flagged, and the society declined. The latter observation may be confirmed by the testimony of Wesley himself. He writes at White-

* Wesley's Journal, March 12. 1743. It was a Scotchman that objected to the "mere Church of England men." This is stated, July 25. 1756.

haven, June 24. 1764, "The want of field-preaching has been one cause of deadness here; I do not find any great increase of the work of God without it. If ever this is laid aside, I expect the whole work will gradually die away." Thus also he writes from Cardiff: "I found the society in as ruinous a condition as the Castle." *

Love of novelty is a feeling that always acts most strongly on the least cultivated minds, and it was among these that Wesley found his first and most willing followers. During several years, the Methodists were almost entirely confined to the poorer classes; and this appears not merely from Wesley's own declaration, but still more, perhaps, from the bitterness with which the earlier portion of his Journal sometimes alludes to persons of education and affluence. Thus, for instance, he says, in 1738, "She with whom we were was so much of a gentlewoman, that for near an hour our labour seemed to be in vain." And again, next year, "A fine lady unexpectedly coming in, there was scarce room for me to speak." †

To every part of the kingdom were Wesley's

* Journal, August 28. 1763.

† Journal, March 18. 1738, and September 6. 1739. Whitefield seems to have had more success among the higher classes. He writes from Scotland, "I am intimate with three noblemen and several ladies of quality, who have a great liking for the things of God. I am now writing from an Earl's house," &c. Yet Horace Walpole says sarcastically, that "Whitefield's largest crop of proselytes lay among servant-maids!" (Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 282.)

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labours extended. The bleakest summits of the Northumbrian moors, or the inmost depths of the Cornish mines, the most tumultuous city, or the most unfrequented hamlet, were equally the scenes of his pilgrimage and preaching. Danger he fearlessly braved, insult he patiently endured. On one occasion, at Wednesbury, his life was threatened with brutal violence, and he would hardly have escaped had not his gentleness turned some of his assailants into his defenders. In other places the rudeness of the mob took a less serious turn; preachers were plunged into the water, or daubed over with paint. Sometimes the Methodists were brought before a magistrate, but seldom could any legal offence be laid at their door.* Charles Wesley was once accused of treasonable words, and of abetting the Pretender, because he had prayed, in allusion to sinners, that the Lord would call home his banished ones. John was often hooted at as a Papist; while one man, more learned than the rest, called him a "Presbyterian Papist,"

* Wesley departs from his usual gravity, to relate how once a whole waggon-load of these new "heretics" were carried before Mr. S., a justice of the peace, near Epworth. But when there, no accusation was made. At length an old man stood forward:—"An't please your Worship, they have *convarted* my "wife. Till she went among them, she had such a tongue! "And now she is as quiet as a lamb!"—"Carry them back, "carry them back," said the justice, "and let them convert all "the scolds in the town." Journal, June 9. 1742. Yet Wesley's own married life, some years afterwards, may prove, that the Methodists had not always a specific in these cases.

— a happy combination of terms! and an opinion which seemed so reasonable, that all the people present, as we are told, were brought round to it!* Charges such as these were not very difficult to answer. Yet it may be observed, that the Wesleys seem, in early life at least, to have had some leaning to the exiled family; for we find Charles writing home, in 1734, from Oxford, "My brother "has been much mauled, and threatened more, for "his Jacobite sermon on the 11th of June." It appears that another of the brothers was in correspondence with Atterbury during his exile.†

A more solemn accusation might have been brought against Wesley for the presumption with which he sometimes ascribed immediate efficacy to his prayers. Some anecdotes which he exultingly relates, would seem better suited to a Romish legend than to a Protestant Journal. One night, when he was travelling on foot in heavy rain, and not well knowing the way, he prayed to God "that "thou wouldst stay the bottles of Heaven! Or, "at least, give me light or an honest guide!" and presently, he tells us, "the rain ceased, the moon "broke out, and a friendly man overtook me, who "set me upon his own horse and walked by my side."‡ Another day he was thoroughly tired, and his horse exceedingly lame. "I then thought — "cannot God heal either man or beast by any

* Journal, October 30. 1743.

† Atterbury's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 419, &c.

‡ Journal, September 17. 1741.

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"means or without any? Immediately my weari-
"ness and head-ache ceased, and my horse's lame-
"ness in the same instant. Nor did he halt any
"more either that day or the next. This is the
"naked fact: let every man account for it as he
"sees good." * But it is very plain what was Wesley's own opinion.

Where this enthusiasm could bewilder a man of so much genius and learning, it may easily be supposed that some of the illiterate rushed into far wilder extremes. One society was called the Jumpers, because they manifested their devotion by leaping as high as possible.† One man, Mr. M., with a long white beard, came to Wesley at the close of one of his sermons, and told him with much concern, "You can have no place in heaven "without a beard! Therefore, I beg, let your's "grow immediately!" ‡— thus going beyond even the wild notions on this subject of Tertullian §, and the Montanists. Such fooleries are mentioned by Wesley with just aversion and contempt, nor do I mean, for one moment, to imply that he was answerable for them; but I quote them as showing to what lengths ignorant enthusiasm, when once

* Journal, March 17. 1746.

† Wesley's Journal, August 27. 1763, and August 25. 1774.

‡ Wesley's Journal, August 29. 1766. In another place (August 5. 1749) he writes, "A gentleman here (Rathcormuck) "in conversation with Colonel B., said he had heard there was "a people risen up that placed all religion in wearing long "whiskers, and seriously asked, whether these were not the "same who were called Methodists?"

§ De Spectaculis.

excited, will run. And even among those of Wesley's own flock we may often observe even the best principles carried to a strange and blameable excess. Thus a little society of Methodists had sprung up in the British army; and we find that, at the battle of Fontenoy, some of these encountered death and wounds, not merely with the courage of a soldier, or the resignation of a Christian, but with rapture and delight! A letter from one of them to Wesley is inserted in his Journal of December 2. 1745. "I received," says the pious soldier, "a ball through my left arm, and rejoiced "so much the more. Soon after I received another "into my right, which obliged me to quit the "field. But I scarce knew whether I was on earth "or heaven. It was one of the sweetest days I "ever enjoyed!" Of a similar kind was the enthusiasm of the first Moravians. When Wesley told their bishop, Nitschman, that one of their sick friends had become much worse, the other, instead of expressing concern, smiled, and said, "He will "soon be well; he is ready for the bridegroom!"*

To welcome death so eagerly was, perhaps, less surprising or unnatural in men who practised so many austerities. It is, certainly, one of the ill effects of Methodism, that it has tended to narrow the circle of innocent enjoyments. Plays, cards, and dances, in whatever moderation, or in whatever form, were strictly denounced. We find one

* Journal, March 14. 1736.

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man highly commended for having broken and burnt his violin.* Whitefield boasts that during one Lent he lived almost entirely on sage tea without sugar, and coarse bread.† Of one clergyman, Mr. Grimshaw, who joined the Methodists, and is much extolled by them, it is related by his panegyrist: "He endeavoured to suppress the generally pre-"vailing custom in country places during the "summer, of walking in the fields on a Lord's-day "between the service, or in the evening, in com-"panies. He not only bore his testimony against "it from the pulpit, but reconnoitred the fields in "person to detect and reprove the delinquents."‡ —How different was the saying of good old Bishop Hacket, "Serve God and be cheerful!"

Wesley's domestic life was not happy. When about fifty years old he contracted a marriage with Mrs. Vizelle, a widow of independent fortune; having first agreed with her, that he should not preach one sermon or travel one mile the less on that account. His constant journeys were, no doubt, a heavy sacrifice to duty; but the lady kindly made it as light as possible, by allowing him no peace at home. Her temper was insufferable, and her jealousy equally positive and groundless. She is said to have frequently searched his pockets and

* Myles, Chron. Hist. p. 58.

† First Journal, p. 16.

‡ Life of the Rev. William Grimshaw, p. 43. The writer quaintly adds, in the next page, "Religion was to him, as water "is to fish, the very element in which he lived."

opened his letters, and sometimes even struck him and torn his hair! Wesley himself, in writing to her, complains that she has tried him numberless ways, laid to his charge things that he knew not, robbed him, betrayed his confidence, revealed his secrets, given him a thousand treacherous wounds, purposely aspersed and murdered his character, and made it her business so to do! At length, without assigning any cause, she left his house, and declared her intention never to return. Wesley, whose Journal had previously been silent on her conduct, shortly mentions her departure, and adds these remarkable words, NON EAM RELIQUI, NON DIMISI, NON REVOCABO.* Their union — if so it can be called — had lasted twenty years, and Wesley survived their separation for twenty more.

Wesley's life was extended far beyond the limits of this History: he survived till the year 1791, and the age of eighty-eight. He has left behind him a Journal, giving a full account of his unwearied travelling and preaching, during more than half a century, together with occasional remarks on the towns he visited, or the books he read. The style is plain and powerful, and the language well-chosen, though sometimes peculiar. For example, he uses the word "lively," where we should use the word "serious;" and thus, meaning to praise the devotion of Camelford, he

* Journal, February 23. 1771.

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calls it "one of the liveliest places in Cornwall."* Thus, also, when he speaks of "a lovely woman," or a "lovely congregation†," it is quite clear from the context that he does not mean beauty. The same buoyant spirit, the same fervent zeal, glow in every page of this Journal, but it is gratifying to observe how the overstrained enthusiasm which appears in the earlier portion, gradually softens and mellows as the writer advances in years. To give only one instance: when in 1740 some of his congregation laughed, we have seen how strangely he endeavours to account for it; but when the same thing befalls him in later life, he is willing to assign a very natural cause.— "One young gentlewoman, I heard, laughed much. "Poor thing! doubtless she thought, 'I laugh "prettily!'"‡ But even in the earlier and least favourable portion of the Journal it is impossible not to acknowledge and respect the honest fervour of the writer, and we may say of him what he says of the Monks of La Trappe: "Notwith- "standing the mixture of superstition, yet what a "strong vein of piety runs through all!"§

Another extract — it shall be my last from Wes-

* Journal, September 26. 1762.

† Ibid. May 14. 1777; October 12. 1777, &c.

‡ Ibid. July 16. 1764. Saunderson, the blind Professor of Mathematics, is said, once in company, to have rightly guessed that a lady present had beautiful teeth; else, he remarked, she would not laugh so often!

§ Ibid. December 21. 1747. See also his remarks on the Life of Loyola, July 16. 1742.

ley's Journal—is very remarkable, as showing how far time and experience had modified his views as to the benefit of preaching extempore. "Last "Monday, I began reading that excellent book "'The Gospel Glass,' to the morning congre- "gation; a method which I find more profitable "for instruction in righteousness than any other "manner of preaching." *

At the time of Wesley's death, his flock in England exceeded 71,000, in America 48,000; and there were under his direction five hundred travelling preachers in both. † It is worthy of note what sovereign authority he had established and maintained, and how implicit was the obedience required by one who, even in his earliest ministry, had never yielded any. At the conference of 1766, he was accused of "arbitrary power, of making "himself a Pope." That his power was arbitrary, Wesley did not deny. "If, by arbitrary power, "you mean a power which I exercise singly, with- "out any colleagues therein, this is certainly true; "but I see no hurt in it." He maintains, however, that his power was not unreasonable or capricious; that it was forced upon him by circumstances; that it was necessary for the good of all; and, above all, that it was voluntary on their part,

* Wesley's Journal, October 25. 1756. See some remarks on this point in Knox's Remains, vol. i. p. 172.

† Minutes of Conference, July, 1790. Mr. Myles tells us, that "till 1763, all the travelling preachers were called *Helpers*, "that is, Mr. Wesley's Helpers." (Chron. Hist. p. 94.)

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since "every preacher and every member may "leave me when he pleases." His defence removed dissatisfaction, or, at least, silenced complaint.

The labours of Whitefield were not less strenuous than Wesley's. He had, in some measure, become reconciled with his former colleague, although their tenets on predestination still continued entirely opposed. Whitefield found, however, a powerful patroness and coadjutor in Selina Shirley, Countess of Huntingdon, who devoted her long life and ample income to the promotion of Calvinistic Methodism. The laymen educated at her college, and sent forth at her expense, and called, after her, "My Lady's preachers," vied with the followers of Wesley in activity and enthusiasm, though not in organisation and numbers. Whitefield himself was certainly no common man. His published works would give a very mean idea of his capacity; but in this they resembled the written compositions of the Italian improvisatori, which are always so far beneath their sudden flow of verse; and his admirable eloquence and effect in preaching are recorded on the highest testimony. None, perhaps, is stronger than that of a cool reasoner, seldom stirred by eloquence, and still more rarely swerving from his purpose — Benjamin Franklin. The philosopher and the preacher had had a discussion respecting an orphan-house at Savannah, to which Franklin refused to subscribe. "I happened soon "after," says he, "to attend one of Mr. White-

"field's sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, "and I silently resolved he should get nothing "from me. I had in my pocket a handful of "copper money, three or four silver dollars, and "five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded, I began "to soften, and concluded to give the copper; "another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed "of that, and determined me to give the silver; "and he finished so admirably, that I emptied my "pocket wholly into the collection, gold and all." It appears, however, that in general his manner was theatrical and his language indiscreet. It was his custom to stretch out his arm and bid the people "look yonder," and then refer to our Lord's Passion as if actually present before them: "Hark! "hark! do you not hear!" Whenever he related how St. Peter went out and wept bitterly, he had ready a fold of his gown to hide his own face. Such little arts are seldom found with sincerity, yet no preacher was ever more zealous and fervent than Whitefield. Even the pressure of deadly illness could not check his activity. When, in 1770, having passed over to America, and suffering from asthma, he was entreated by his friends to spare himself, his answer was, "I had rather wear out "than rust out;" accordingly he persevered in his exertions, and expired in the course of the same year.

I have now concluded my short sketch of this

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remarkable society. It is not easy to avoid offence, where offence is so hastily taken; but it has been my anxious desire to say nothing that should wound the feelings or insult the doctrines of others. I have endeavoured to advance no assertion without adding some proof or instance of it, and I have selected these proofs in the manner most favourable to the Methodists — not from the charges of their opponents — not from the publications of their unauthorised or less eminent ministers — but from the writings of their own respected founder. — If next we look to the practical effect of Methodism, we shall find much to praise, but also something to condemn. We shall find a salutary impulse given to the Church — a new barrier raised against unbelief at a time when unbelief was most rife — a society training up thousands in the paths of religion and virtue. On the other hand, we should not deny that a dangerous enthusiasm was reared and fostered — that many innocent sources of enjoyment have been dried up — that very many persons have been tormented with dreadful agonies and pangs — that the Church has been weakened by so large a separation. Yet it is cheering to reflect, that while the good seems lasting and secure, the ill effects have much diminished, and we may hope will wholly disappear.

Thus, then, stands the case. A hundred years ago the churchman was slack in his duty, and slumbering at his post. It was the voice of an

enthusiast that roused the sleeper. Truth must condemn alike the overstrained excitement of the one, and the untimely supineness of the other. But the progress of time, and, still more, of mutual emulation, has corrected the defects of each. Sleep has never again fallen on the churchman; enthusiasm has, in a great degree, departed from the Methodist. So closely have the two persuasions drawn to each other, that they are now separated on no essential points, and by little more than the shadowy lines of prejudice and habit. It might be well for the followers of Wesley seriously to ponder whether, in still continuing apart from the Church, they do not keep up a distinction without a difference, — whether, by joining the Church, they would not best serve the cause of true religion, and disappoint the machinations of their common enemies. Sure I am, at least, that if Wesley himself were now alive, he would feel and act in this manner; had the Church been in his time what it is in ours, he would never have left it; and were he to behold these times, he would acknowledge, that the establishment which once wanted efficiency, now stands in need of nothing but support.

Were Wesley himself alive in these later times, he would surely exclaim, though in words more impressive than mine—Happy they who have grown up in the creed of their fathers, and who join in communion with the great body of their country-

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men! To them the church bells are music, to them the church path is a way of pleasantness and peace! Long may they look with veneration and attachment to that time-worn spire where their infancy was blessed in baptism, where their manhood has drawn in the words of consolation, and where their remains will finally repose!

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS

FROM

THE STUART PAPERS.

The two first Letters would more properly have been placed in the Appendix to the First Volume, but were too late for it.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

1715.

Paris, Aug. 3. 1715.

It is matter of the greatest satisfaction to me to find that your Majesty is pleased to accept of my sincere endeavour to serve you. If I have any uneasiness, it is only on this account—that I am sensible my best services will fall infinitely short of those which so much grace and goodness deserve. Permit me to add these faint expressions of the sense I have of your Majesty's last favour to what I said in my letter writ this morning; and to assure your Majesty that no heart can be more full of duty, of zeal, of gratitude.

As soon as the two gentlemen arrived, by whom I received the honour of your Majesty's of the 26th of last month, and the paper brought from Maryland (England), I writ to Monsieur Talon (Torcy) and enclosed the letter for him which came with a flying seal. He answered me the next day, expressed the satisfaction he had, added that Harry (King of France) was very much prepared to receive favourably what I should have to represent, and concluded by assuring me, *Qu'on aura soin de faire preparer la voiture en lieu ou elle ne donnera point de soupçon.*

My next care was to despatch 8, 6, 17, 10, 22, 19, 18, 10,

1715. (Cameron.) 17, 25, 22, 22, 6, 27, (Murray) could not have gone without giving too much umbrage, because of his known habits and intimacy in Maryland. Besides which he is of indispensable and daily use here, and in the last place the former is better than any person acquainted in the place to which he is sent and will have the utmost credit with the people.

I judged this measure to be absolutely necessary not only to prevent any mistake, and precipitate measures; but also to keep up the spirit there and to account for the delay here. He will be soon back again and Charles (Ormond) shall have notice of his journey, so that he may be prepared to confer with him at his return.

After this Ralph (Berwick) came from the country on a letter which I writ to him, and we went over the whole contents of the papers brought, and every other point which our thoughts suggested to us. I think we concurred in our opinions on every head. The first steps we agreed to take was to show the Court of 11, 22, 6, 18, 8, 10, (France,) how practicable, how morally certain the enterprise would prove if it was avowed and supported with 11, 19, 22, 8, 10, 23, (forces,) to insist therefore in your name and in the names of all those from whom I have authority to speak, and sure we deserve to be believed in a matter where we venture so deeply, that they should be granted, and in that case to answer for events, as far as in cases of this nature they can be answered for. After this conference Ralph returned home, and Talon came to town.

Talon takes so affectionate a part in every thing which relates to your Majesty's interest, talks so freely with me concerning the difficulties which arise here, and is so very frank in endeavouring to remove them, that I thought it best to consider with him, and to take his advice, concerning the best use which we could make of these papers for your Majesty's service.

He desired he might be fully and particularly instructed in the whole state of the affair, and took upon him with these arms the proper efforts in the proper places; producing or concealing as at different times and with different characters, would best conduce to the great end.

I have therefore sent him the papers whereof I enclose copies, and the person who is entrusted between him and me, will explain and enforce the whole to him by word of mouth. 1715.

I dare not promise much; but this I may venture to say, that the people here endeavour to feel Margaret's (England's) pulse, and determine to guide themselves as that rises and falls. God forbid that your Majesty should neglect any favourable opportunity, or throw away any reasonable prospect which may offer themselves, in expectation of assistance from hence; or of any other circumstance whatsoever.

But till things are ripened in Maryland you cannot answer it to yourself, to your faithful servants, to the present age, nor to posterity, if you act; and as those things ripen, these will ripen too. Forgive a freedom which proceeds from a warm zeal for your service, Sir, and a thorough conviction, that the preservation or eternal ruin of my country depends on the person and conduct of your Majesty.

Nothing farther can be said of 11, 22, 6, 18, 8, 10, (France,) till I have some answer from Talon, which I expect about the middle of the week; and nothing farther can be said of Margaret till Bevil or some other person come from thence.

I am sorry Mr. Dicconson has yet no despatch from me, but I will not lose time on my part, and indeed a letter which I have just now seen from the water-side shows that no time is to be lost. The answer from Thomas (King of Sweden) is not yet come; we continue in hopes it will be favourable.

It is certain that the factor of Leonard deals with 19, 22, 16, 10, 6, 18, 23, (Orleans). They have had, I believe, very lately a private meeting. I gave notice in the proper place, and took care that it should get to the ears of Humphrey, (Orleans).

The moment the gentleman who goes with my pacquets to Marly returns, I shall do myself the honour to write again.

I ask pardon if I have said too little or too much in any instance; for besides not being extremely well, I have been hurried with so much business that I may easily have fallen into some mistake. I am, with all possible respect, &c.

1715.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

Paris, Sept. 21. 1715.

SIR,

I DELAYED till now despatching a messenger, the only safe way in the present circumstances of corresponding, to your Majesty, that I might be able to give you some account of the steps taken in pursuance of your last orders.

At my return from Bar I found that Mr. Innes, and Captain O'Flanegan had been consulted about providing a vessel for your Majesty's transportation on the western coast of France, but I found no one step made towards the execution of this project. I thought it was proper to begin by setting this matter in a method of being finished with as much secrecy as possible; and having consulted the Captain last mentioned, and Robert Arbuthnot, who is as sensible, as zealous, and as useful a servant as any you have, O'Flanegan is despatched to St. Malos with a detail of instructions which I am well persuaded he will execute with judgment and fidelity and, I hope, with success.

Sir Nicholas Girardin is the merchant whom we think to depend upon for fitting out the ship as intended to go to the Canarys, and we propose not to buy but to hire by the month and insure.

The Queen orders Mr. Innes to furnish some money to O'Flanegan, and by that means he will guess at the service intended as well as by what was said to him before my return; but I shall say nothing to him nor any one else of the measure taken, because I know no better maxim in all business than that of trusting no creature with the least circumstance beyond what is absolutely necessary he should know, in order to enable him to execute his part of the service.

The Duke of Berwick is gone to St. Germains, so that I shall have no opportunity of making either a secret or a confidence of this to him. I add no more as to his Grace, though I should have something to say, because the Queen tells me she has writ to your Majesty her opinion, in which I humbly concur.

There is another project on foot for your Majesty's going off,

which has been debated by the Duke of Ormond, Arbuthnot, and myself, and which may perhaps be safer than any, should this Court prove as adverse to your interest as we apprehend, though it has a very romantic air. It is proposed that the Runner prepared at the Havre to carry your Majesty, and bound in appearance for Gottenburg, should sail; that if she finds herself examined, pursued, and dogged, she should in effect repair to Gottenburg and lose her voyage; but that if she finds the sea clear, and herself unobserved, she should proceed to the mouth of the Texel and come to anchor off the Fly, of which care will be taken to give your Majesty instantly notice. 1715.

It is proposed that your Majesty should in the deepest disguise, such for example as saved your uncle King Charles after the battle of Worcester, make the best of your way, with a merchant or some such unsuspected person whom the Duke of Lorraine would undoubtedly find for you, through Holland, embark on board this vessel, and by the shortest cut pass into Scotland.

But there is another employment for this very ship which occurs to my thoughts, and which may at the same time answer the view your Majesty did me the honour to communicate to me.

The Prince de Cellamar has told the Duke of Berwick that he cannot pay the money without the Regent's consent, as in the King's life he could not have paid it without his consent. I expected at last some evasion or other, and this is as gross an one as could be fallen upon. However, the ambassador has promised to write to Madrid for a revocation of these real or pretended orders, and to propose that the money may be lodged at Port-Passage or some other haven in the north of Spain, and may be there taken up and transported directly to Scotland.

Now, Sir, should this method of sending the money be pushed as the Queen and Duke of Berwick hope, and as I confess I very much doubt, the Runner designed for you, and which I mentioned above, might be the ship made use of, and your journey to Spain might be so timed as to meet her and so embark with the money.

I mention all that my own or other men's thoughts suggest, that in a matter of this consequence your Majesty may have before your eyes as many expedients as possible, and whatever you determine I will cheerfully and vigorously execute; but I

1715. must confess that the more I think, the more I hear, and the more I struggle forward in this business, the more impracticable it appears to me. Your Majesty will soon know the certainty of what is doing in Scotland and of what may be expected from England, and you will then weigh the hazard and difficulty of going in one scale, and the prospect of success on your arrival in the other.—Before I leave this head, I must add, that we hear the English squadron is returning from the Baltic, and that besides the ships cruising in the channel, five men of war have their stations on the north-east coast of Scotland, from the firth of Edinburgh to Inverness.

The next point to which I applied myself, was the despatch of one of the blank commissions to Scotland, and I thought it very necessary to send the substance of the two memorials transmitted to England some time ago, a copy of the message which Mr. Hamilton carries at this time to the same country, and the minutes which your Majesty gave me as your answer to the message last brought you from the Highland Lords, that so your friends and servants might see the progress of things, and the insuperable obstructions which have lain in your way, and be able to account for a delay which they seem to bear with so great impatience. To all this I have added a long letter to the Earl of Mar, a copy whereof and of Hamilton's message (for your Majesty is already apprised of the contents of the other papers), come inclosed, and will I hope have your gracious approbation. I take the liberty to speak of your Majesty's personal conduct, for the reason specified in my letters; and if I say any thing of myself, I hope your Majesty does me the justice to believe it is not through so contemptible a principle as vanity, but I thought it of use to let those who are parties to the same engagements as I am entered into, and at whose desire, according to what I told your Majesty when I attended you at Commercy, I took off the mask, know the manner in which I proceed, and by that the obligation of honour, even on this account, which they are under.

Your Majesty will hear from other hands of what has passed at the Havre; there are 1300 arms, 4000 weight of powder, and other stores, on board another ship which is not yet discovered:

I intend to send her as I write to Lord Mar. The Duke of Ormond inclines rather to have her stay some time in expectation of hearing some good news from the west of England, and in that case of sending her thither, in which case I agree with his Grace, that the arms would be better applied. But this is uncertain, and the longer she continues where she is, the greater risk we run of losing even the little she has on board. Upon the whole, if Arbuthnot finds he can keep her concealed, she may stay as my Lord Duke desires; if not, I think she should proceed on the first plan. 1715.

George (Bolingbroke) received on Tuesday night an answer from the person who spoke to Humphrey (Orleans), that he might have an 6, 25, 9, 14, 10, 18, 8, 10 (audience), and the answer was, that he could not do it, that those people had used him too well for him to take any measures against them, and that the secret could hardly be kept though he saw George in private.

I confess this answer surprised and piqued me, and I was not at all shy of shewing myself to be so. The day before yesterday the gentleman who managed this affair came to me again, and told me that the eldest servant of Humphrey had expressed a wish to see George and converse with him, that he hinted as if his master would do the same, and yet he said in terms that 23, 24, 6, 14, 22 (Stair), imposed very much. What judgment to make of these uncertainties and awkward proceedings I know not. I shall speak very plainly, as I think I have a title to do from my share in the transactions of the four last years, and leave it to operate. After to-morrow George will probably have had his interview, and your Majesty shall have an account of it unless it pass entirely in compliment and banter.

I inclose to your Majesty two letters from Stralsund with great reluctance; since you will find by them that all our hopes of troops are vanished. I received them from the Queen, whose packet accompanies this, and who intends to send your Majesty's servants down to you.

I have nothing more to add but my excuses for the length of my letter, and assurances of being ever, &c.

1720.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES.

The original is partly in cipher and not signed, but is endorsed B. of R. to the King.

May 6. 1720.

I HAVE little to add to what is contained in the general letter, besides particular professions of duty and zeal for the service, which I hope are needless, and I am sure will be made good by all the actions of my life as often as any proper occasion offers.

My long illness and great distance, and the few opportunities I had of such a conveyance as I could depend on, have been the reasons of my silence.

I must add also that I did, upon grounds not altogether slight, entertain hopes that hands of greater consequence were either of choice or through necessity employed in such measures as would be of most effectual service to the cause, and while those measures were duly pursued, thought it my part to lie still and expect the event. But those hopes, since the great quarrel has been made up, are in a good degree vanished; for whatever wishes and inclinations any person in power may still preserve, he will be (if he is not already), forced to act in such a manner as will certainly defeat them. Indeed the reconciliation, whether of the principals or those who listed under them, is not as yet hearty and sincere: but I apprehend it will by degrees become so; at least the appearances and consequences of it here will be the same as if it really were. The union (how imperfect soever now) will naturally cement more and more as accidents and occasions arise, that may make it the mutual interest of the newly-reconciled to act more closely together. The Tories have now lost their balancing power in the House of Commons, and must either by continuing wholly inactive sink in their spirits and numbers, or by making attacks hazard a stricter conjunction between their enemies. On either

hand their situation is nice and hazardous; and great prudence as well as resolution is requisite so to conduct them through these difficulties as neither to forfeit their reputation nor draw upon themselves the united resentments of the more powerful party, who, if ever they agree in good earnest, will be more irresistible than they were before the breach. It is true, there is but little time for such experiments, before the Session will close; and the less there is, in my humble opinion, the better. Ere another is opened new disasters may arise, and new parties be formed, which may give the Tories matter to work and a foundation to stand upon. The last of these they now evidently want, and for want of it dare hardly, and scarce can prudently, make use of the other. I think myself obliged to represent this melancholy truth thus plainly, that there may be no expectation of any thing from hence, which will certainly not happen. Disaffection and uneasiness will continue every where, and probably increase. The bulk of the nation will be still in the true interest, and on the side of justice; and the present settlement will perhaps be detested every day more than it is already: and yet no effectual step will or can be taken here to shake it. 1720.

Care is taken from hence to make our condition well understood in France. Whether we shall be believed, or if we are, whether the Regent will think it his interest at this juncture to assert your righteous cause, or will choose rather to temporize till he has brought all the great projects he has now on the anvil to bear, you, Sire, are best able to judge, and time only will convincingly show. It is certain that unless help comes speedily, it may come too late. For that body of men who have newly increased their capital to above 40 millions sterling, begin to look formidable; and if time be given them to fix themselves, and to unite the Court and the majority of the Members of Parliament thoroughly in their interest, the weight of their influence, whatever they undertake, must bear down all opposition; and they cannot but be the Governors of this Kingdom. But it is hoped, the great event is not at such a distance as to give this monstrous project time to settle. An attempt

1720. from abroad, if not too long delayed, will dash it all to pieces, and make it instrumental towards defeating those ends which now seems calculated to serve. In all events, the direction and management of this great machine will be for some time in the hands of the Ministry, who best know what use they intend to make of it.

Upon the whole, we are here at present in a violent convulsion; from which great good or evil may arise, according as the juncture is laid hold of by France, and employed to one or other of these purposes. We are entirely in their power. They have great sums of money in our stocks, which they can draw out at once, and sink them if they please. If they insist on the surrender of Gibraltar, it must be surrendered; and that step will shake our credit, and shew how easily we may be insulted if any body has the courage to venture upon us. Could the Duke of Ormond (if nothing is to be headed by him from Spain) be allowed shelter any where in France, even that is enough to disorder our finances and throw us into a good deal of confusion. But I will not trouble you, Sire, with more reflections of this kind; being persuaded that you are thoroughly acquainted with the advantages which our present situation gives you, and want nothing but such an assistance as may render them effectual, which I pray God soon to afford you!

I cannot end this letter without my particular congratulations upon the affair of your Majesty's partner, which you have pleased to communicate to all of us. It is the most acceptable news which can reach the ear of a good Englishman. May it be followed every day with such other accounts as may convince the world that Heaven has at last undertaken your cause, and is resolved to put an end to your sufferings!

I beg leave to add, that your letter of Oct. 17. 1719, reached me not here till March 19. 1720, N. S. By what accident it was so long delayed I know not; but had I received it in time, even the great indisposition I was then under (and am not yet free from) would not have hindered me from acknowledging the honour of it, and returning my most humble thanks for it.

1720.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO GENERAL DILLON.

(*Extract.*)

May 6. 1720.

THE sum of my letter to the King is to assure our friends abroad that the reconciliation which makes so great a noise, is, whatever may be apprehended of it, imperfect and insincere at the bottom, and calculated only to serve views at the present juncture which could not have been so well attained without it. But in truth and at the bottom the parties, as well the principal as those who list under them, are still as much separated in interest and inclination as ever.

This is the certain state of the case at present, and such it will continue for some time, notwithstanding whatever appearances there may be to the contrary; and could the opportunity be made use of from abroad, this is the moment when an attempt to disturb us would be most like to succeed and throw us into the utmost confusion. But on the other side, if this opportunity be not laid hold of by France and Spain, matters will alter here in some time for the worse. The seeming reconciliation will by next winter grow real, and the common necessity of affairs will drive the new allies here into measures that may be for their mutual interest, and into a closer and sincerer conjunction, and the grand money schemes here projected of late will settle and fix themselves in such a manner as that it will not be easy to shake them. It so happens at this particular point of time, that there is no bank or set of men in the whole kingdom (those only excepted that engross the power and taste the vast profits lately made) who are not to the highest degree uneasy, and would be found to be so in a very remarkable manner should any thing happen from abroad that might make it advisable for them to exert their resentments.

This is the very truth of the matter, and methinks if it were well understood might induce those who only can make effectual

1720. advantage of the juncture, and whose interest it is so to do, not to neglect it. E. Strafford has accounts of this kind from another hand, at least it was promised he should have them, and if he has will be able to explain this matter and set it in a much fuller light than can be done in the bounds of a letter.

EARL OF ORRERY TO JAMES.

(*Extract.*)

May 15. 1720.

Your commands to Mr. Fleetwood (Earl of Arran), Mr. Nixon (Earl of Oxford), and Mr. Dyer (Mr. Caesar) shall be obeyed, and I am glad I have the best authority to say, where I shall find it proper, that Mons. Schtclief (James) has no dealings directly or indirectly with Messrs. Benn and Board (Stanhope and Sunderland). I look upon them both to be as inveterately averse to Benjamin's (James's) interest as the Mr. Tolanders (Walpolians) or any others, and therefore I have always thought it wrong to make any distinction between them as to that matter, and have lamented the imprudence of those that have endeavoured to propagate a tolerable good opinion among Benjamin's (James's) friends of either Messrs. Benn and Board (Stanhope and Sunderland).

JAMES TO THE EARL OF OXFORD.

(*Extract.*)

May 20. 1720.

As to affairs in general I have nothing new at this time to impart to you, the occasion of my writing this being only to

ask your advice as to what is fit for me to do on the Queen's lying in, as to which I think I should equally avoid either neglect or affectation. 1720.

Every country has their different customs and uses on such occasions, and those of England should certainly be my rule in as much as my circumstances may make it possible for me to follow them. I wish therefore you would let me know what those customs are, for if on my birth and that of my sister Louisa particular reasons obliged my father and mother to overdo something, the present case is so different that those instances do not seem to be a precedent for me. After this, what I think may be reasonable for me to do is that such of my subjects, men and women, as are here depending on me should be present at the labour with some of the first rank of this town and such of the foreign ministers as will accept of my invitation; but then as to any of my subjects as may be travelling here and are either no wellwishers or not my declared friends, the question is whether for form's sake they should be invited, though for different reasons they cannot come.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO GENERAL DILLON.

Oct. 22. 1720.

Mr. Illington (himself) has been long confined to the country by his illness, and has no opportunity of advising with friends till he gets to town, which will be before the end of next week; in the meantime he highly approves the printed paper, and hopes some way or other it will be made public. As to what is proposed he dares not of himself advise any thing, but is afraid the time is lost for any attempt that shall not be of force sufficient to encourage the people to come into it. The losers in this

1720. game are under expectations of having their losses made up to them in the approaching Session, and will not plunge hastily into any mad hazardous scheme at this juncture, nor perhaps till they begin to despair. Relief cannot possibly come till some time after the Parliament has met, and then the hopes of the disaffected will be kept some time in suspense, and while they have any such hopes they will not run any great risks; and an unsuccessful attempt ruins the game for many years, and certainly ends in the union of the father and son, and of the whole Whig interest to support them. The South Sea project which friends have unwarily run into, as, if it stood and flourished it would certainly have produced a commonwealth, so now it has failed has not wrought up the disaffection of the people to such a pitch but that they have still some hopes left of retrieving their affairs, and while they have so will not be ripe for any great venture; nor can it be yet seen, whether the grand affair can wisely be pushed, till the time of new choosing a Parliament next year, unless the forces to be sent were in much greater quantities than is proposed, or could come hither sooner than it is apprehended they possibly can: but of this more after advising with others; at present this is the private sentiment only of a single person, who, if he alters his opinion upon comparing it with that of others, will not fail to give you speedy notice of it.

JAMES TO MR. MENZIES.

Rome, July 20. 1721.

YOUR letter relating to Lord Sunderland is very satisfactory; that affair seems to be in a good way, and in so good hands that there is nothing to be recommended but the continuance of the same prudent and zealous management.

EARL OF ORRERY TO JAMES.

(*Extract.*)

October 28. 1721.

THE expectations of your friends to have a new Parliament this winter by the interest of the Earl of Sunderland were disappointed: about the latter end of the last Session he gave us reason to believe he should carry that point which we thought the most material of any that it was proper at that season to ask; he now says, as I hear, that the Elector of Hanover was worked up into such an aversion against it by others belonging to the ministry and by the Germans about him, that he did not think it fit to push the matter too far, but gave way, and by that means got the other ministers to declare openly that they would not think of prolonging this Parliament by a new law, but would contribute all in their power to have the present Session short, and then would have a new Parliament. This is the substance of the apology he makes, as I am informed; and he pretends still to be a well-wisher to the Tories, who cannot but be a little shocked with this disappointment.

I should be very glad if any one would assist the cause with a constant supply of money, which is continually wanted for several purposes, for intelligence abroad, which we are very deficient in, and would be of great use to us if we could from very good hands be informed of the transactions, views, and intrigues of the European Courts—for maintaining several useful agents both here and in other places, many of whom perpetually want a comfortable subsistence, and particularly at this time of distress, when money is very scarce almost with every body, are driven I doubt to great necessity; and if there be new elections, I am afraid a considerable sum will be wanting for carrying them on successfully, for corruption is so great among all degrees of men, that though the present spirit if it continues will

1722. do a great deal in the matter, yet there are so many little venal boroughs that it is to be apprehended a majority will hardly be carried by the inclinations of the people only.

JAMES TO LORD LANSDOWNE.

(*Extract.*)

April 13. 1722.

It is certain that although the five persons now concerned were yet more considerable than they are, and though we were sure that they were to act all of them with the greatest union and the utmost vigour, it is not to be imagined that they alone could do the work, and of those five I do not see any one both willing and fit in all respects to act a principal part with the rest of my other friends who might come into the project; and yet how is it possible things can go on without a head and one chief person to direct and manage matters on the other side, and to correspond with this? In the way things have gone on hitherto, diversity of opinions even joined to disputes and multiplicity of (in some manner) useless letters have been the chief effect; whereas could what I mention above be compassed, affairs would certainly be carried on with much less confusion and much more harmony and secrecy. I am sensible it will not be easy to find such a person; but were Lord Oxford willing to undertake the task, I know nobody so capable of performing it to advantage; Lord Arran would certainly agree to it, and as the others of that club are disgusted with the Bishop of Rochester, they would, I dare say, heartily enter into it, while on the other hand Lord Orrery, Lord Gower, and all that set of friends would no doubt be pleased with the proposition, although they would not maybe have submitted so cheerfully to the Bishop of Rochester; so that all put togeather, even laying my Lord Oxford's

capacity aside, I cannot think of any other person so capable of uniting all the different sets of my friends as him, neither do I see any other method of acting on a sure foundation but this. 1723.

EARL OF ORRERY TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

November 15. 1723.

THE chief foundation of any reasonable project must be a good number of regular forces, without which I doubt there will not be encouragement enough for great numbers of the people to rise or of the army to desert; the body of the people are certainly well disposed towards your interests. It is not an extravagant computation, I believe, that four in five of the whole nation wish well to you, but people of reflection and fortunes will hardly venture their lives and estates unless they see they have some tolerable chance to succeed, and soldiers will hardly desert unless there be a body of soldiers to desert to. Those that govern at present are generally despised and abhorred, but their power is too great not to be feared, and it is the more feared because they are cruel, without principles, and act in the most arbitrary manner without regard to the known laws or constitution; they have a large army, well paid, well clothed, and well provided for in all respects, ammunition and magazines of all kinds, a large fleet, and the officers of it generally, I believe, devoted to them; the command of all the public money; and by the fatal corruption that prevails almost over the whole nation, the absolute power in both Houses of Parliament. This is a true state of the strength of your enemies — formidable it is and requires a proportional strength to contend with it, or some well laid stratagem to supply the place of such a strength. But there is still another and perhaps a greater disadvantage that your cause lies under, which is the indolence, inactivity, and almost despair of many of your chief friends; they have, indeed,

1724. great reason to appear quiet, and to act with the utmost caution, and I could wish they would endeavour to lull the Government as it were asleep, and to make them believe there are no farther thoughts of designs against them. But where there can be a confidence, there they ought to speak with freedom to one another, and never cease proposing some scheme or other till a project can at last be framed to the satisfaction of reasonable people, and a right method of execution agreed upon. But few of your chief friends are very capable, and some of those that are have other infirmities that hinder them from serving the cause in a right manner. I don't care to say more upon this melancholy subject.

LORD LANSDOWNE TO JAMES.

(*Extract.*)

July 10. 1724.

OUR western people have been in a tumultuous way of late, as well as the northern Cameronians. Their leader gave himself the name of Lord Mar, and fought a sharp battle, which lasted above two hours; in the end, regular troops coming in upon them, they were dispersed, and poor Mar was taken: it is odds but he will be hanged, which you will be very sorry for, I am sure, for the name sake. Thus the only blood that has been drawn in either kingdom has been by a real Mar and a feigned one. Madame Villette's journey into England was to save no less a sum than fifty thousand pounds, which was lodged in her name in the hands of a banker, who pretended to make a discovery of it to the Government as a forfeiture, upon offering to prove her married to Lord Bolingbroke. It is uncertain how, with all her dexterity, she will be able to clear herself of this difficulty. She has not the luck to please at Court; *elle parle trop, et sans respect*, was the character given her by the Master

of the House.* You can tell, Sir, whether that is a just character; she is your old acquaintance. 1725.

DUKE OF WHARTON TO JAMES.

(*Extract.*)

London, Feb. 3. 1725.

THERE is a strong report of Lord Bolingbroke's bill being at last fixed; and I had the other day a very long conference on that subject with Lord Bathurst, who, when I represented to him Lord Bolingbroke's behaviour to your Majesty, and quoted your own authority for the assertion, answered, that he had not learned to *jurare in verba magistri*, to which I only replied, *Juravi*. We esteem Lord Bathurst entirely departed from your cause, though he will not yet leave us in Parliamentary disputes. I hope his friend Sir William Wyndham will not follow him in his politics as he does in his pleasures.

DUKE OF WHARTON TO JAMES.

(*Extract.*)

May 1. 1725.

THE rage which inflames both parties in the city, who seem entirely sensible of this fatal law (the City Bill), increases every day, and will blaze more and more as they feel the great distractions which must attend the execution of it. The Ministers were alarmed for fear the Common Council of London should have gone (as we had determined they should) to the Duke of Hanover for protection. The enemy, having notice of this design, brought him down to give the Royal assent on the Tuesday, and the House of Lords' Amendments did not pass

* King George.

1725. the House of Commons till the Monday. This precipitation made it impossible for us to execute our scheme; but, however, it shows the world upon how precarious a bottom they stand who are thus frighted at the least shadow. All due care shall be taken to work upon the different passions of those who seem at present to be thoroughly disaffected, and to keep up at the same time the spirit of our old friends. In order to it I shall print my observations on the City Bill, which I hope will contribute to increase their animosities.

The point of Lord Bolingbroke's Bill, which is now depending in the House of Commons, has plainly discovered the sentiments of some persons who before that were labouring to conceal their real inclinations. I should not much regard the zeal which Lord Bathurst and Sir William Wyndham expressed for that Lord's service, when their only pretence was the private friendship that had formerly subsisted between them. But when in a public meeting of some chosen Tories at Lord Bathurst's house, relating to this affair, Lord Bolingbroke's behaviour to your Majesty and your interest was started as an objection to the showing of him the least favour, I think the case altered, and that whoever gives his vote for or against that Lord is to consider himself as a person who by his conduct on that occasion is to appear a dutiful subject and servant to so good a master, or an advocate for treachery and corruption. Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir Thomas Sebright, and Sir Jermyn Davers, out of their utter detestation for your Majesty's enemies, bravely opposed the very bringing in of any bill whatsoever; and though several Tories were for it, yet it was the misfortune of many of them not to understand the case, and to believe that what Lord Bathurst and Sir William Wyndham said could not be intended to prejudice the party. Mr. Shippen, Strangways, and others were absent, which I believe was owing to an unguarded promise they had made not to oppose it. In the House of Lords our number is so small that any behaviour there will be immaterial, and though I believe some of your Majesty's most dutiful subjects will not attend, yet I am sure they will not blame me if I bear my testimony against him, as having had an

opportunity when I was in France, some years ago, of knowing personally the several particulars of his scandalous behaviour. I would not have your Majesty imagine any thing from this, that my warmth should ever carry me to divide from the main body of the Jacobites, for I would at any time curb my passion or restrain the strongest inclinations to unite or reconcile them. 1725.

The next point of consequence now before the Parliament is the Bill disarming the Clans of Scotland, which is to be done with the utmost cruelty that the severest tyrant can invent. We are to battle it on Monday next in the House of Lords, and I shall act my part in it. We are afraid that this oppression should exasperate the Clans to oppose the execution of the law by force. But all due care will be taken to induce them to delay their resentments till a proper occasion shall offer. How happy should we be at this juncture to have some little assistance from a foreign Prince!—Lord Lechmere in all these cases votes and speaks with us. He at present seems to have thrown away the scabbard, but I am afraid he is actuated by resentment and not principle, and if he were to be made Chancellor (which the Ministers will never permit) would be as violent a prosecutor of those with whom he at present acts as any Whig of them all.

I propose, as soon as I receive your Majesty's leave, to go abroad for some time.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES.

(*Extract.*)

(*Paris*) *May* 14. 1725.

Lord Lansdowne's paragraph would have surprised me indeed, did I not consider under whose crafty and malicious influence he is; and had I not received of late some letters from him, by which he seems to have entertained thoughts and resolutions that I scarce believe his breast would ever have harboured. I say, seems; for I do not think he will or can execute them on many accounts; and am of opinion he sent

1725. them to me on purpose that I should transmit them further: for which reason I did not and do not impart them. Were he and Filmore (Duke of Mar) separated, I flatter myself I should dislodge these thoughts and bring him to reason. But as things stand now, I almost despair of seeing him; and till I do, think it will be better to say nothing of what has been written to me.

Nothing more need be said of Lord Bolingbroke, after I have sent you the copy of his petition, and you have observed from it in what a mean state of mind he is, and how low he has stooped to gain a very little point, not worth his while under any other view than that of its being sometime or other an inlet to greater; in which, however, he may be, and I hope will be deceived; and then, I suppose, we shall hear of him again, if by that time there be any need of him.

DUKE OF WHARTON TO JAMES.

(*Extract.*)

May 29. 1725.

Your Majesty may be assured that no step taken by the Ministers has done them more prejudice in the opinion of all mankind than the screening the Earl of Macclesfield; and all parties, especially the old Whigs, are enraged to the greatest degree. Your Majesty will likewise observe the behaviour of the Earl of Strafford on Lord Bolingbroke's Bill. I wish the conduct of another Lord upon that occasion could be mentioned without astonishment.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES.

(*Extract.*)

(*Paris*) *June* 25. 1725.

It is now put beyond all doubt that you have nothing to expect from hence while the strict friendship between England and France continues—and continue it will till matters are made up between Spain and France, of which there is not as yet, you find, Sir, any probability; nor will it happen till the Emperor, whose influence governs all in Spain, has served his ends on France (whatever they are) by this alliance.

It is confessed by France that England is now its only ally, and consequently the alliance betwixt them must be now stricter than ever. And therefore there is nothing now to be managed with France beyond your private concerns which you have ordered to be solicited here, which may probably the rather succeed, because no applications of a more important kind will.

I have considered all the particulars mentioned in your letter, and obeyed all your commands as far as my sad state of health and the recluse solitary life I am obliged to lead have enabled me to do it. Had I more light into things, and more opportunity of gaining it, I might perhaps be somewhat more useful. As the case is with me, I do my best, and what is wanting in abilities endeavour to make out by my prayers for your prosperity and happiness.

DUKE OF WHARTON TO JAMES.

(*Extract.*)

Rotterdam, July 4. 1725.

Before I left London I communicated to Lord Orrery, Lord Strafford, Dr. Friend, Mr. Cæsar, and Major Smith the reasons

1726. I had to believe that I should be employed abroad in your business, and took their advice as to many particulars relating to the execution of my enterprise. It is certain that, if possible, something should be attempted this summer during the Duke of Hanover's absence, and any foreign Prince who has the least inclination to serve your Majesty should upon this occasion lose no time. The Czarina might, if she would, send unto England and Scotland the fleet now ready to sail, and might surely do the work, for ought I know, without the least opposition; and all resistance would be trifling, let the Whigs make the most of it!

DUKE OF WHARTON TO JAMES.

(*Extract.*)

Madrid, April 13. 1726.

It would be taking too much of your time to mention the particulars which passed at each conference with Ripperda relating to the unfortunate separation in the Royal Family, which was the first and chief motive of Mr. Collins (the King's) sending Lock (Duke of Wharton) hither. Prior (Duke of Wharton) endeavoured to explain Loftus's (the King's) conduct in its true light. Bentley (Duke of Ripperda) approved of it extremely, and said that the giving a Protestant governor to the Prince of Wales was a prudent and a wise step. He agreed that the King could not, nor ought not, to part with Lord Inverness. But at the same time assured me that it was impossible to bring Kelly and Gibson (the King and Queen of Spain) to reason upon the subject; for that they were, and the Duke of Ripperda feared would continue, implacable upon it. On Monday night the Duke of Ripperda acquainted the King and Queen of Spain that Lock (Duke of Wharton) was arrived, and had letters from his master for them; and the next day he told me that they had ordered him to receive the letters, and that perhaps

they might answer them, but would not allow me the honour of waiting upon them. He said that the King of Spain thought the Queen should be satisfied in every point, and that Lord Inverness should be removed, and the seals given to me: to which I answered, that though I should always be proud of serving Collins (the King) in any station, yet I would never consent to accept of an employment from which I should be liable to be removed by the caprice of the Queen, or the malice of one of her maids: so I desired to hear no more upon that head. He then said, as from himself, that Garth (Duke of Ormond) ought to be made governor to the Prince, but I told him that it was impossible; and I believe Loftus (the King) will receive by this post Garth's (Duke of Ormond's) thoughts upon the subject. 1726.

I find Garth (Duke of Ormond) has been very active here; but I can say with great truth that nobody that has not been something conversant with this Court can imagine how impracticable it is to do business. The accounts the Duke of Ormond gave the King of this Court, and with which he was so kind as to honour me, are but too true.

DUKE OF WHARTON TO MR. HAY (LORD INVERNESS).

(Extract.)

Madrid, June 8. 1726.

You see now that that I am banished England, (which is an obligation I owe to the Duke of Ripperda) and I declare that it is the greatest satisfaction to me that my precautions with him were such that I am his only sacrifice. I hope the King will take my behaviour upon this affair as I meant it, which was to avoid any suspicions of lying under the least imputation of playing the second part of the Duke of Mar's tune. I had rather carry a musket in an odd named Muscovite regiment, than wallow in riches by the favour of the usurper.

1726. I wrote a letter to the King of Spain, and it was delivered to him this evening, but his Majesty making no answer to it, I set out infallibly on Tuesday next, and hope to be with you in three weeks, wind, weather, Moors, and Whigs permitting. I am told from good hands that I am to be intercepted by the enemy in my passage. I shall take the best precautions I can to obviate their malice.

I wish the King would recall his Irish subjects from this country, for they have really infected Kelly and Gibson (King and Queen of Spain).

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES.

(*Extract.*)

(*Paris*) *Sept.* 2. 1726.

THE strange turn taken by Offield (Duke of Wharton) gave me such mortifying impressions, that I have forborne for some posts to mention him at all; and had not you in yours of August 14. spoken largely of his conduct, I should still have continued silent on that article: for, as I cannot any ways approve it, so neither do I care to speak of it as I ought, when it is to no purpose and the matter is beyond all remedy.

You say, Sir, he advised but with few of his friends in this matter. I am of opinion he advised with none, nor do I hear of a single person concerned in the affair who could reasonably bear that name. Sure I am, whoever gave him such advice (if any body gave it) could not be his friend. It is easy to suppose you were both surprised and concerned at the account when it first reached Rome, since it is impossible you should not be so; the ill consequences are so many, so great, and so evident, I am not only afflicted but bewildered when I think of them. The mischief of one thing you mention, is, that he will scarce be believed in what he shall say on that occasion (so low will his credit have sunk), nor be able effectually to stop the mouth of malice by any after declarations. It is with pleasure

however I read your account of Mercer's (the King's) last directions to him relating to Dexby, &c. (Flanders). They seem to me extremely just and proper in many respects, and I hope will find him in a disposition to close with them, whatever he may have written and wished to the contrary. You imagine I find Mader (King of Spain) may have had an hand in this turn. I much question it, and methinks the treatment since (if I am rightly informed) proves that point but too clearly. I would to God I could find out any one person in the world he had pleased, that was worth pleasing! for I am touched by his misfortunes, sensibly touched, and afraid lest upon due reflection he should sink under the weight of them. For which reason perhaps Mercer (the King) will consider his case with an equal mixture of wisdom and tenderness, and afford him so much countenance and support as is consistent with his own great interest and the measures necessary to be observed with relation to it. 1727.

The great abilities of Offield (Duke of Wharton) are past dispute. He alone could render them less useful than they might have been.

I do not despair of Coming's (Lord Lansdown's) breaking off from the party, but neither am I sanguine. A letter he wrote gave me hopes, wherein there are these or as strong expressions as these, for I have it not now at hand;—speaking of a late dizziness he had, he adds — *The times have been giddy, my Lord; and perhaps I may have partaken of the infection.* His correspondence with me has been smelt out, and great pains are taken to keep him tight, as they call it.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

(Paris) June 16. 1727.

I HAVE had reasons for some time to think, and lately to be satisfied, that my ceasing to deal in your affairs as much as I

1727. have done would not be unwelcome to your Majesty, though you have not thought fit as yet to make any such declaration to me. It may therefore, perhaps, be some ease to you, Sir, if I first speak of that matter myself, and assure you, as I now do, of my perfect readiness to retire from that share of business with which it has been hitherto thought not improper to intrust me. I apprehend that as things have been managed it will scarce be in my power for the future to do any thing considerable for your service, which I never hoped to do otherwise than by the countenance and encouragement you should be pleased and should be known to afford me. That has, in many respects and by various degrees, for some time past, but especially of late, been withdrawn. I have been left in all my disadvantageous circumstances to work, as well as I could, without any assistance or support. The methods I have taken of serving you have been disapproved, and many ways traversed. What I have asked more than once, in order to give me that credit which alone can render me useful, has not been granted me. In the meantime vain airs have been taken up and lessening things said of me by those who, upon many accounts, should have acted otherwise; and they have ventured even to boast that the most secret parts of my correspondence have been sent back to them. I have complained, declared the grounds, and proved the truth of my complaints without redress. What has given rise to this conduct, I forbear to conjecture or enquire. Doubtless your Majesty must have good and wise reasons for not appearing to discourage it. I acquiesce in them, Sir, whatever they are, and from my heart wish that all the steps you take towards your great end, may be well adjusted and proper; and then it matters not much who may be in or out of your confidence, or who has or has not the honour of serving you.

EARL OF STRAFFORD TO JAMES.

June 21. 1727.

THE alteration here * was so sudden and surprising (as no doubt it was to you), that no man knew at first what would be the consequence. The people in the streets ran backwards and forwards, only asking news and enquiring of one another what was to be done: the sudden coming of the Prince and Princess to town, and calling of the Council, immediately turned the expectation of the mob on seeing the ceremony of a proclamation that night, who are always fond of any show or a new thing. They waited till midnight, and were then told it was put off till next day, when all things were performed without the least disorder: the torrent was too strong for your friends to resist, so they thought it their best way to join with the rest to hinder distinction, that their party may be the stronger whenever dissatisfaction breaks out again, which is generally thought will not be long, since the expectation of many who were very patient in the last reign, with a view of alteration in this, will be disappointed, to which rage must succeed to see their adversaries grin and triumph over them and all their hopes dashed for ever: what may be the event no man can tell. I hope your enemies will however be disappointed, since I am convinced the same violent and corrupt measures taken by the father will be pursued by the son, who is passionate, proud, and peevish, and though he talks of ruling by himself, will just be governed as his father was: his declarations that he will make no distinction of parties and turning off the Germans, makes him popular at present; I am satisfied it will not last.

I cannot flatter you to say I believe you will have a majority of friends in the next Parliament, for I find them already desponding and complaining they have ruined their fortunes and are not able to resist this last effort of the Whigs. My endeavours, I assure you, are not wanting to try to keep up their

* The death of George the First.

1727. spirits, but the misfortune that has lately happened abroad with this accident happening on the back of it has quite sunk their spirits for the present.

You have still a great many friends zealous in your cause, who only want an opportunity to show it, but common prudence to save themselves and families from immediate ruin obliges them at present to play a very disagreeable game; and though before they had little hopes of mercy, yet should they be found out now they have none.

JAMES TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

(*Extract.*)

Near Nancy, August 9. 1727.

I RECEIVED last night from Luneville yours of the 5th, and at the same time a letter from the Duke of Lorraine, writ in his own hand, in which he desires me in the strongest terms to go out of his country in three days, with a plain intimation that if I delayed it longer he should be forced to oblige me to it by force. He does not name the French in his letter, but it is very manifest that this comes chiefly if not entirely from them, and probably upon instances Mr. Walpole made to the Cardinal upon the return of his courier from England. The Duke of Lorraine expresses the greatest concern to be forced to come to these extremities, which are certainly much against his will. But he cannot resist superior force, neither can I, so that I leave this place on Monday next.

Enfin, in my present situation I cannot pretend to do any thing essential for my interest, so that all that remains is that the world should see that I have done my part and have not returned into Italy but by force. The journey I have made on one side, and my remaining here till I was forced out, may be thought sufficient proofs of that, and the circumstances of my being drove from hence are such as may sufficiently justify me

in not going to Switzerland without that people's consent, whose counsels always must be influenced by France or the Emperor; and even in general I know not whether it would be a right politic for me to expose myself manifestly to be drove out of different States one after another. 1727.

EARL OF ORRERY TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

No date, but endorsed (Received, August 1727).

FROM the instructions I have given the bearer (J. Hamilton), and even from the public accounts, you will be convinced that there is not any room to expect any commotion, or disturbance here at present ..... We are governed by men of arbitrary principles, and I doubt cruel dispositions, our Parliament are all most universally corrupted; our nobility and gentry are for the most part servile, ignorant, and poor-spirited, striving who shall sell themselves at the best price to the Court, but resolved to sell themselves at any; and our Constitution altered into despotic by the aid of mercenary Lords and Commons..... For my own part, though appearances are too melancholy, I do not despair of seeing things both at home and abroad put on a better aspect in a little time. I flatter myself that a breach betwixt this Court and some others of real power, is not unlikely to happen; and any appearance of that, much more any hostile stroke, will soon show the real weakness of this fabric, which now seems very strong; and though there do not yet appear many discontented people upon this change of Government, yet it is probable there will soon arise much animosity against it, and perhaps deeper rooted than ever, from the incapacity, stubbornness, and haughtiness of the present King. This prospect alleviates something of our present miseries, which would other-

1727. wise be almost insupportable to men of generous mind and well wishers of their country. Upon the whole, Sir, let me beg of you never to think of making any rash attempt.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES.

(*Extract.*)

Aug. 20. 1727.

You will observe, Sir, what a spirit of caution and fear possesses your friends at home, and how they dread any alarm being given to the Government, and taken by it. Something, indeed, must be allowed to Jodrell's (Lord Orrery's) temper, which is wary to excess. However, the persons he consulted with have a deference for his advice: and though not perhaps altogether so cautious as he, yet may be looked upon as ready to join in his opinion. 2007 (Lord Strafford), if in town, would have answered with more spirit: but he was at a distance.

Upon the whole, it appears that nothing is to be expected from them without a foreign and a very considerable assistance; and it slipt from Jodrell (Lord Orrery), in his conversation with the person sent, that that number should not be much less than 20,000; though this particular he omitted in the memoir, and I mention it only to show their extreme timorousness.

It is plain that the Tories at this turn hoped to get into place, if not into power; and though they resolved to keep their principles and inclinations if they had done so, yet I much question whether they really would; or rather I am satisfied that the bulk of them would not; and therefore it is an happiness to you, Sir, that their aims have hitherto been, and will probably continue to be, defeated.

From the character of Lintall (Duke of Hanover) and his wife given (which is undoubtedly a true one), and from that circumstance of their being not likely long to submit to any man's

advice, you have all the reason in the world to expect that their affairs will soon be perplexed, and that the Whigs they employ will grow turbulent and quarrel among themselves. It cannot be otherwise while Olly (Walpole) is at their head, and yet not entirely possessed of all the power and credit he had, and apprehensive of the designs of enemies of the same party (as the case certainly is) to dislodge and disgrace him. This situation will make him naturally cast about how to save himself, either by remaining in power or quitting it: and whether he does the one or the other, confusion will follow. 1727.

The war between Walpole and Pulteney is as open and violent as ever; as a proof of which the last Craftsman is sent. But it is a stronger proof that Pulteney himself is not employed; and that the Chetwynds, his friends, and Gumly, his father-in-law, are turned out; and Chesterfield, who has mixed in all his resentments, is to be sent abroad upon an embassy. These things will not extinguish but inflame the quarrel between them; and it cannot be long before it will come to such an height as will give great advantages to your friends at home and abroad.

Walpole will always fear that he stands upon an insecure foundation; that Lintall (Duke of Hanover) dissembles with him as being necessary to his affairs for a time, and will watch the first opportunity to get rid of him. Under these persuasions, he will not act with zeal and cheerfulness, but will probably look out for some supports against what he apprehends may happen to him.

Sir, I return to, and humbly persist in the opinion of your endeavouring by all manner of ways to fix at Avignon, or somewhere on this side of the Alps. 1165 (Cardinal Fleury) cannot in his heart blame you for it, and hitherto seems in some degree to favour it. And should he do otherwise, and come even to extremities, you will be forced to yield with more honour; and he may perhaps open himself to you a little farther than he has as yet done, before he removes you. If he does, that secret will make amends for all his harsh usage.

Your friends at home are apprehensive of your approaching too near the coast, chiefly on their own account, as they reckon

1731. they should feel the effects of it. But they can have no just objection to your quitting Italy, and being, though still at a distance, yet in a greater readiness to lay hold of advantages.

DUKE OF WHARTON TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

SIR, *Parma, May* 21. 1728.

THE transport I felt at the sight of your Majesty prevented me from recollecting many things which I had proposed to have humbly laid before you; most of which were rendered useless by your Majesty's gracious manner of receiving me.

Your Majesty's goodness in writing to the King of Spain and the Duke of Ormond will, I hope, screen me from the reflections which will be cast upon me by some gentlemen who brand my zeal with the name of madness, and adorn their own indolence with the pompous title of discretion; and who, without your Majesty's gracious interposition, will never comprehend that obedience is true loyalty.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES.

Paris, Nov. 12. 1731.

I HAVE been obliged to write and print the Paper enclosed, partly for reasons specified in the Paper itself, and partly at the desire of some friends in England; which I comply with the more readily, as it gave me an occasion of doing some little justice to the memory of that great and good man, the Earl of Clarendon; equally eminent for his fidelity to the Crown, and his ill usage on that very account.

Whilst I was justifying his History, I own myself to have been tempted to say somewhat likewise in defence of his character and conduct, particularly as to the aspersion with which he has been loaded of advising King Charles II. to gain his enemies and neglect his friends. A fatal advice! which he certainly never gave, though he smarted under the effects of it, and was sacrificed by his Master to please those who were not afterwards found to be of any great importance to his service. But I considered the ill use that might be made of such an apology, and therefore declined it. 1733.

You may perhaps not have heard, Sir, that what happened to my Lord Clarendon, was the first instance in the English story of banishing any person by an Act of Parliament, wherein a clause was expressly inserted, to make all correspondence with him penal, even to death. Permit me to add, that I am the second instance of a subject so treated; and may perhaps be the last, since even the inflictors of such cruelties seem now to be a-weary and ashamed of them.

Having the honour to be like him, as I am, in my sufferings, I wish I could have been like him too in my services: but that has not been in my power. I can indeed die in exile, asserting the Royal cause as he did; but I see not what other way is now left me of contributing to the support of it.

May wisdom govern and success attend all your counsels!

I am, &c.

LORD CORNBURY TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Paris, May 17. 1733.

Upon the whole, the King's cause grows stronger in England, though there are some very unsteady to the King's advantage, and some relations of the King's friends who are not quite just to

1733. the King's cause; but I think the Parliament has been the King's friend, for its way of acting has brought the people of England very much more into his interest, put Walpole to great straights, quite ruined the Duke of Hanover and his Government with England, and at the same time taken away (which I am afraid were raised) all hopes from Lord Bolingbroke and his few friends to be well with the Court, by the means of Lord Scarborough, Lord Chesterfield, &c. Lord Carteret and his set will, I dare say, be determined by interest any where but by Walpole; and when they find the King willing to be friends, I guess will be ready to embrace it when they can very safely. The Whigs are in a great rage, and of twenty minds at the same time. The Tories very consistent, and know their own mind, though they have differences with some of the King's friends. Mr. Pulteney has done every thing for the King's service, in all appearances, that could be with prudence, and some think rather more. So that I am fully persuaded that the King's own conduct and the French Ministry's friendship will effectually provide for the King's Restoration.

For the Duchess of Buckingham I cannot say enough, to do her justice.

What I mentioned once before permit me to mention again, that a letter, or a civil message (though in the strongest terms, with an eye to have it immediately made public) addressed to the Duke of Hanover and his Lady, offering them safe return to Hanover; expressing that the King has been proscribed and insulted, yet as he despised that treatment at the time, so he abhors it now, and can never forget what becomes him as a Prince, even to those who have never considered themselves but as enemies; I think it cannot but have an effect very much for the King's glory.

EXTRACTS

FROM

THE STANHOPE AND HARDWICKE PAPERS,

FROM

COXE'S COLLECTIONS, &c.

From the year 1721, when Walpole became Prime Minister, until 1742 when he resigned, his biographer, Mr. Coxe, has published, in his very valuable work, nearly all the despatches, and diplomatic correspondence of any moment. In the Memoirs of Sir Robert, the documents for these twenty years fill above a thousand quarto pages of the second and third volumes, and other large extracts are given in the Life of Horace Lord Walpole. The remaining papers of this kind which I have seen in MS., though very numerous, are I think of much less interest and value. Of this period, therefore, I shall insert no despatches at length, and confine myself to a few extracts or private letters.

In my first volume (p. 294.), I have stated that the Earl of Nithisdale escaped from the Tower in 1716, by the aid of his mother, who brought him a woman's dress. I was aware that his wife was spoken of in some modern allusions to the story; but I observed that the contemporary or early writers, Boyer, Tindal, Smollett, John Wesley, &c. all mentioned the lady in question as being his mother. Tindal says, that "his mother came with some relations*," and I supposed that the wife might

* Hist. vol. vi. p. 546.

perhaps be included among the latter, but that the mother was the chief contriver of the escape, and that the name of the wife was substituted in later tradition as being more romantic. Those early writers have however misled me. My attention has since been called to a letter from Lady Nithisdale herself to her sister Lady Traquair, giving an account of the adventure, and establishing the point at issue beyond all doubt.

It appears also from this letter, that the King, instead of the good-natured reply ascribed to him when he was told of the escape *, was highly irritated.

The letter itself is of great length, giving an account how this admirable woman not only saved her husband's life, but secured the family estate for her son. It is printed in the first volume of the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, (pp. 523—538.) but I shall here extract from it the principal passages relative to Lady Nithisdale's rescue of her husband. The reader will be gratified to observe how the noble heroism of her act is enhanced by her unpretending grace and simplicity of style. He will be no less pleased to learn that she safely rejoined her husband, and continued to reside with him abroad till his death at Rome, in 1744. She herself survived till 1749. They were both Roman Catholics.

DEAR SISTER,

MY Lord's escape is now such an old story, that I have almost forgotten it; but since you desire me to give you a circumstantial account of it, I will endeavour to recall it to my memory, and be as exact in the narration as I possibly can.

* * * * * * * * *

My Lord was very anxious that a petition might be presented, hoping that it would at least be serviceable to me. I was, in my own mind, convinced that it would answer no purpose; but as I wished to please my Lord, I desired him to have it drawn up; and I undertook to make it come to the King's hand, notwithstanding all the precautions he had taken to avoid it. So the first day I heard that the King was to go to the drawing-

* See vol. i. p. 294.

room, I dressed myself in black, as if I had been in mourning, and sent for Mrs. Morgan (the same who accompanied me to the Tower); because, as I did not know his Majesty personally, I might have mistaken some other person for him. She stayed by me, and told me when he was coming. I had also another lady with me; and we three remained in a room between the King's apartments and the drawing-room; so that he was obliged to go through it: and as there were three windows in it, we sat in the middle one, that I might have time enough to meet him before he could pass. I threw myself at his feet, and told him in French, that I was the unfortunate Countess of Nithisdale, that he might not pretend to be ignorant of my person. But perceiving that he wanted to go off without receiving my petition, I caught hold of the skirt of his coat, that he might stop and hear me. He endeavoured to escape out of my hands; but I kept such strong hold, that he dragged me upon my knees from the middle of the room to the very door of the drawing-room. At last one of the blue ribbons who attended his Majesty took me round the waist, whilst another wrested the coat out of my hands. The petition, which I had endeavoured to thrust into his pocket, fell down in the scuffle, and I almost fainted away through grief and disappointment.

* * * * * * * * *

Upon this I formed the resolution to attempt his escape, but opened my intentions to nobody but to my dear Evans. In order to concert measures, I strongly solicited to be permitted to see my Lord, which they refused to grant me unless I would remain confined with him in the Tower. This I would not submit to, and alleged for excuse, that my health would not permit me to undergo the confinement. The real reason of my refusal was, not to put it out of my power to accomplish my designs. However, by bribing the guards, I often contrived to see my Lord, till the day upon which the prisoners were condemned; after that, we were allowed for the last week to see and take our leave of them.

By the help of Evans, I had prepared every thing necessary to disguise my Lord, but had the utmost difficulty to prevail

upon him to make use of them. However, I at length succeeded by the help of Almighty God.

'On the 22d of February, which fell on a Thursday, our petition was to be presented to the House of Lords; the purport of which was, to entreat the Lords to intercede with his Majesty to pardon the prisoners. We were, however, disappointed the day before the petition was to be presented; for the Duke of St. Albans, who had promised my Lady Derwentwater to present it, when it came to the point failed in his word. However, as she was the only English Countess concerned, it was incumbent upon her to have it presented. We had but one day left before the execution, and the Duke still promised to present the petition; but, for fear he should fail, I engaged the Duke of Montrose to secure its being done by one or the other. I then went in company of most of the ladies of quality who were then in town, to solicit the interest of the Lords as they were going to the House. They all behaved to me with great civility, but particularly my Lord Pembroke*, who, though he desired me not to speak to him, yet promised to employ his interest in our favour, and honourably kept his word; for he spoke in the House very strongly in our behalf. The subject of the debate was, whether the King had the power to pardon those who had been condemned by Parliament; and it was chiefly owing to Lord Pembroke's speech that it passed in the affirmative. However, one of the Lords stood up and said, that the House would only intercede for those of the prisoners who should approve themselves worthy of their intercession, but not for all of them indiscriminately. This salvo quite blasted all my hopes; for I was assured it aimed at the exclusion of those who should refuse to subscribe to the petition, which was a thing I knew my Lord would never submit to; nor, in fact, could I wish to preserve his life on such terms.

'As the motion had passed generally, I thought I could draw some advantage in favour of my design. Accordingly, I immediately left the House of Lords, and hastened to the Tower,

* Lord Pembroke was a kinsman of Lady Nithisdale, she being Lady Winifred Herbert, daughter of the Marquis of Powis.

where affecting an air of joy and satisfaction, I told all the guards I passed by, that I came to bring joyful tidings to the prisoners. I desired them to lay aside their fears, for the petition had passed the House in their favour. I then gave them some money to drink to the Lords and his Majesty, though it was but trifling; for I thought that, if I were too liberal on the occasion, they might suspect my designs, and that giving them something would gain their good humour and services for the next day, which was the eve of the execution.

The next morning I could not go to the Tower, having so many things in my hands to put in readiness; but in the evening, when all was ready, I sent for Mrs. Mills, with whom I lodged, and acquainted her with my design of attempting my Lord's escape, as there was no prospect of his being pardoned; and this was the last night before the execution. I told her that I had every thing in readiness, and that I trusted she would not refuse to accompany me, that my Lord might pass for her. I pressed her to come immediately, as we had no time to lose. At the same time I sent for a Mrs. Morgan, then usually known by the name of Hilton, to whose acquaintance my dear Evans has introduced me, which I look upon as a very singular happiness. I immediately communicated my resolution to her. She was of a very tall and slender make; so I begged her to put under her own riding-hood one that I had prepared for Mrs. Mills, as she was to lend hers to my Lord, that, in coming out, he might be taken for her. Mrs. Mills was then with child; so that she was not only of the same height, but nearly of the same size as my Lord. When we were in the coach, I never ceased talking, that they might have no leisure to reflect. Their surprise and astonishment, when I first opened my design to them, had made them consent, without ever thinking of the consequences. On our arrival at the Tower, the first I introduced was Mrs. Morgan; for I was only allowed to take in one at a time. She brought in the clothes that were to serve Mrs. Mills, when she left her own behind her. When Mrs. Morgan had taken off what she had brought for my purpose, I conducted her back to the staircase; and in going I begged her to send me in

my maid to dress me; that I was afraid of being too late to present my last petition that night, if she did not come immediately. I despatched her safe, and went partly down stairs to meet Mrs. Mills, who had the precaution to hold her handkerchief to her face, as was very natural for a woman to do when she was going to bid her last farewell to a friend, on the eve of his execution. I had, indeed, desired her to do it, that my Lord might go out in the same manner. Her eyebrows were rather inclined to be sandy, and my Lord's were dark, and very thick; however, I had prepared some paint of the colour of hers to disguise his with. I also bought an artificial head-dress of the same coloured hair as hers; and I painted his face with white, and his cheeks with rouge, to hide his long beard, which he had not time to shave. All this provision I had before left in the Tower. The poor guards, whom my slight liberality the day before had endeared me to, let me go quietly with my company, and were not so strictly on the watch as they usually had been; and the more so, as they were persuaded, from what I had told them the day before, that the prisoners would obtain their pardon. I made Mrs. Mills take off her own hood, and put on that which I had brought for her. I then took her by the hand, and led her out of my Lord's chamber; and in passing through the next room, in which there were several people, with all the concern imaginable, I said, My dear Mrs. Catherine, go in all haste and send me my waiting-maid: she certainly cannot reflect how late it is: she forgets that I am to present a petition to-night; and if I let slip this opportunity, I am undone, for to-morrow will be too late. Hasten her as much as possible; for I shall be on thorns till she comes. Every body in the room, who were chiefly the guards' wives and daughters, seemed to compassionate me exceedingly; and the sentinel officiously opened the door. When I had seen her out, I returned back to my Lord, and finished dressing him. I had taken care that Mrs. Mills did not go out crying, as she came in, that my Lord might the better pass for the lady who came in crying and afflicted; and the more so because he had the same dress which she wore. When I had almost finished dressing my Lord in all my petticoats, excepting one, I per-

ceived it was growing dark, and was afraid that the light of the candles might betray us; so I resolved to set off. I went out, leading him by the hand; and he held his handkerchief to his eyes. I spoke to him in the most afflicted and piteous tone of voice; bewailing bitterly the negligence of Evans, who had ruined me by her delay. Then said I, My dear Mrs. Betty, for the love of God, run quickly, and bring her with you. You know my lodging; and, if ever you made despatch in your life, do it at present: I am almost distracted with this disappointment. The guards opened the doors; and I went down stairs with him, still conjuring him to make all possible despatch. As soon as he had cleared the door, I made him walk before me, for fear the sentinel should take notice of his walk; but I still continued to press him to make all the despatch he possibly could. At the bottom of the stairs I met my dear Evans, into whose hands I confided him. I had before engaged Mr. Mills to be in readiness before the Tower to conduct him to some place of safety, in case we succeeded. He looked upon the affair as so very improbable to succeed, that his astonishment, when he saw us, threw him into such consternation, that he was almost out of himself; which Evans perceiving, with the greatest presence of mind, without telling him any thing, lest he should mistrust them, conducted my Lord to some of her own friends, on whom she could rely, and so secured him, without which we should have been undone. When she had conducted him, and left him with them, she returned to find Mr. Mills, who by this time had recovered himself from his astonishment. They went home together, and having found a place of security, they conducted him to it.

In the mean while, as I had pretended to have sent the young lady on a message, I was obliged to return up stairs, and go back to my Lord's room, in the same feigned anxiety of being too late; so that every body seemed sincerely to sympathise with my distress. When I was in the room, I talked to him as if he had been really present, and answered my own questions in my Lord's voice as nearly as I could imitate it. I walked up and down, as if we were conversing together, till I thought they

had time enough to clear themselves of the guards. I then thought proper to make off also. I opened the door, and stood half in it, that those in the outward chamber might hear what I said; but held it so close, that they could not look in. I bid my Lord a formal farewell for that night; and added, that something more than usual must have happened, to make Evans negligent on this important occasion, who had always been so punctual in the smallest trifles, that I saw no other remedy than to go in person: that if the Tower were still open when I finished my business, I would return that night; but that he might be assured that I would be with him as early in the morning as I could gain admittance into the Tower; and I flattered myself that I should bring favourable news. Then before I shut the door, I pulled through the string of the latch, so that it could only be opened on the inside. I then shut it with some degree of force, that I might be sure of its being well shut. I said to the servant as I passed by, who was ignorant of the whole transaction, that he need not carry in candles to his master till my Lord sent for him, as he desired to finish some prayers first. I went down stairs and called a coach, as there were several on the stand: I drove home to my lodgings, where poor Mr. Mackenzie had been waiting to carry the petition, in case my attempt had failed.

* * * * * * * * *

Her Grace of Montrose said she would go to Court, to see how the news of my Lord's escape was received. When the news was brought to the King, he flew into an excess of passion, and said he was betrayed; for it could not have been done without some confederacy. He instantly despatched two persons to the Tower to see that the other prisoners were well secured.

* * * * * * * * *

When I left the Duchess, I went to a house which Evans had found out for me, and where she promised to acquaint me where my Lord was. She got thither some few minutes after me, and told me that when she had seen him secure, she went in search of Mr. Mills, who, by the time, had recovered himself from his astonishment; that he had returned to her house,

where she had found him, and that he had removed my Lord from the first place where she had desired him to wait, to the house of a poor woman, directly opposite to the guard-house. She had but one very small room up one pair of stairs, and a very small bed in it. We threw ourselves upon the bed, that we might not be heard walking up and down. She left us a bottle of wine and some bread, and Mrs. Mills brought us some more in her pocket the next day. We subsisted upon this provision from Thursday till Saturday night, when Mrs. Mills came and conducted my Lord to the Venetian ambassador's. We did not communicate the affair to his Excellency; but one of his servants concealed him in his own room till Wednesday, on which day the ambassador's coach and six was to go down to meet his brother. My Lord put on a livery, and went down in the retinue, without the least suspicion, to Dover, where Mr. Mitchell (which was the name of the ambassador's servant) hired a small vessel, and immediately set sail for Calais. The passage was so remarkably short, that the captain threw out this reflection, that the wind could not have served better if his passengers had been flying for their lives, little thinking it to be really the case. Mr. Mitchell might have easily returned without being suspected of being concerned in my Lord's escape; but my Lord seemed inclined to have him continue with him, which he did, and has at present a good place under our young master.

1721.

LORD STANHOPE OF SHELFORD (AFTERWARDS EARL OF CHESTERFIELD) TO ——

[This Letter is in Coxe's Collections, vol. lxxii. It has no address nor date of year, but was, in all probability, addressed to some one in office or at Court, and dated in 1720, just after the Ministers had been joined by Walpole and Townshend.]

DEAR SIR, *Paris, June 27.*

I REMEMBER when I left England, I threatened you that I would write to you, and you promised you would write to me; and it has happened, as it generally does in the world, that the threats are performed and the promises broke. It would sincerely have been a very great satisfaction to me to have heard from you, though I know you have so much other business that I scarce expected it. You may possibly now have some idle time upon your hands since the recess of the Parliament and the King's journey. If you have, I can assure you, you cannot bestow any part of it upon one that will be more obliged to you for it than myself. I must congratulate you upon the great addition of strength you have acquired by the late changes, and must own you are liberal rewarders of true penitents; but still remember a line in Othello, "Look to her, Moor; she has deceived her father and may thee."

I cannot help mentioning to you what I spoke to you of in England, and desiring to know whether you have taken any step in it yet. I own, the more I think of it, the more I wish it may be thought either proper or practicable; it being, in my mind, the only way of my coming into any business and leaving an idle life that I am grown weary of. I leave entirely to you as the best judge what methods to take in it, and rely so much upon your friendship that I am convinced you will not omit any that may promote it. I should only be glad to know whether you think there is any probability of success, that I may regulate my conduct in the next Session accordingly, for as on the one side I

should be very willing to engage in debate, and the business of the House, as well as I am able; which though I should do very indifferently, I could not do worse than the present possessors: so of the other side, to enter the lists and get a broken head merely as a volunteer, would be childish and impertinent. 1720.

SECRETARY CRAGGS TO EARL STANHOPE.

[Stanhope Papers.]

(*Extract.*)

Cockpit, July 19. 1720.

I AM to add to what I wrote you * about Lord Marlborough's conversation with the Prince and Princess, that, by a farther account I have received from Walpole, the Duke expressed himself with bitterness, saying that, although he did not expect to recover his health and strength to the degree he formerly enjoyed it, he found himself well enough to make those people's heart ache who had been waiting for his spoils. He complimented the Prince extremely upon his military capacity, and advised him, whenever he wore the crown, never to have a Captain-General.

* See his previous letter, July 15., already printed in Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 189.

1720.

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO MRS. CLAYTON.

[Coxe's Collections, vol. xliii.]

August 12. 1720.

AFTER I had writ to you of Mr. Jennens, he began the discourse again, and told me he believed the Company would give me what conditions I would for our annuities, or to that purpose, adding, "*What will satisfy you?*" and then ended the discourse with saying, that he had no commission from any body to make me offers, but he believed they would do it, because it was their interest to bring people with great effects into them. This assurance which he gave me, that he was not employed, made me think that he certainly was, for I have found him very insincere and very interested.

You seem to think that money may be got by subscribing in annuities, but that does not yet appear plain to me. I do believe some have sold their lottery and long annuities for good advantage after they were subscribed in; but there are not near so many as are said to be that have sold and are entirely out of the power of the South Sea; and I am certain such an estate as the Duke of Marlborough and I have upon those funds, cannot be sold for ready money; and if one should take security upon bargains made, if any stock should come to that stock, how will such securities be made good, where so many people are deep in it? Every mortal that has common sense, or that knows any thing of figures, says that it is not possible, by all the arts and tricks upon earth, long to carry on four hundred millions of paper credit with fifteen millions of specie. This makes me think that this project must burst in a little while and fall to nothing, unless by the correction of the Legislature they will carry their projects on with French government. If that happens, I think there is no great difference in what place it is put; therefore I am determined to keep my fortune as long as

there is a law as it is, though that is but a slender twig to hang by; yet I still like it better than the South Sea, and, like a true Briton, I am resolved to stand or fall by it. I can't believe that our governors would let the Stock fall if they could help it. I am much inclined to believe it proceeds from great numbers of people's selling, that had a mind to secure themselves, though it is probable that they may find out new tricks to get it up again. Every body says that Law has undone France, and that their affairs grow worse and worse every day. The Daily Courant gives a dreadful account of what they do there, and I always think, when I read it, that it is what we shall come to here. But it is a strange paradox that the South Sea men shall give 134,000 for 45,000 in land, and at the same time people should crowd to subscribe into their stock, and give a thousand pounds. 1720.

M. DESTOUCHES, THE FRENCH ENVOY, TO DUBOIS ARCHBISHOP OF CAMBRAY.

(*Extract.*)

A Hanovre, ce 8 *Septembre*, 1720.

La manière dont My Lord Stanhope et M. Schaub s'intéressent à la gloire et au maintien de l'autorité de S. A. R., paraîtra plus évidemment que jamais, Monseigneur, dans le conseil qu'ils jugent à propos de vous donner.

M. Schaub a rapporté à My Lord Stanhope que par tout où il a passé en France, il a trouvé les peuples si aliénés et si déchaînés contre M. Law, qu'il y a lieu de craindre un éclat dangereux, et, pour parler naturellement, un soulèvement prochain et général; étant indubitable que la haine qu'on a pour M. Law ne peut manquer de retomber sur S. A. R.

On ne saurait douter, disent My Lord Stanhope et M. Schaub,

1720. que les Parlemens, et surtout celui de Paris, qui garde un profond ressentiment de l'ordre qu'il a eu de se retirer à Pontoise, n'emploient tout leur crédit, qui augmente à mesure que celui du Prince diminue, à fomenter la haine et l'animosité des peuples.

Ce qui augmente les craintes de My Lord Stanhope et de M. Schaub à cet égard c'est qu'ils sont sûrs que le Roi d'Espagne sera ravi de profiter de ces dispositions, et qu'outre qu'il est en état de le faire par les intelligences qu'il conserve en France, il peut y joindre la force des armes.

Voici le moyen que My Lord Stanhope imagine pour calmer au plutôt les esprits, et relever les espérances.

1. Il pose pour principe avec S. A. R. qu'il est essentiellement nécessaire de renoncer au système de M. Law, et de remettre autant qu'il sera possible les choses dans leur ancien ordre.

2. Il va plus loin, et il est persuadé que quelque projet que l'on mette en usage, quand même il ne serait pas meilleur que celui de M. Law, ce qu'il ne croit guères possible, du moment qu'il paraîtra le détruire ou du moins s'en éloigner, et le reformer considérablement, il suffira pour rappeller la confiance, remettre la tranquillité dans les esprits, et donner le temps à S. A. R. de perfectionner un nouvel arrangement.

3. Mais il croit que ce sera la manière de s'y prendre plutôt que la chose même, qui assurera le succès de cette affaire.

Il suppose, Monseigneur, que vous connaissez ce qu'il y a de plus habiles gens à Paris pour les finances. Il est d'avis que parmi ces gens là vous prenniez quelques personnes des plus eclairées et dont vous soyez sûr; qu' après un mûr examen avec eux vous conveniez secrètement d'un système nouveau, et que quand vous l'aurez en main bien dressé et bien digéré, vous alliez à S. A. R. pour achever de le convaincre de la nécessité absolue d'abandonner les arrangemens de M. Law, et qu'en même temps vous lui proposiez les vôtres pour y suppléer sur le champ, afin que ce dernier, n'étant pas averti des mesures que vous avez prises n'ait pas le loisir de les traverser, et qu'il n'en soit informé que par l'évènement.

Il croit que lorsque ce plan sera dressé, il faut que vous le

communiquiez en secret, et comme de vous-même à quelque Membres du Parlement que vous jugerez assez des amis de S. A. R. et des vôtres pour les mettre dans cette confidence. Que ces amis proposent ce nouveau projet comme une chose qu'ils auraient imaginé eux-mêmes pour le bien public à ceux qui sont les plus accrédités dans le même corps; qu'après le leur avoir fait goûter ils cherchent les moyens de le faire approuver par tout le Parlement, et de le porter à prendre la résolution de le proposer à S. A. R. comme un expédient que la compagnie à imaginé pour le soulagement des peuples, et auquel elle supplie S. A. R. de donner son agrément. 1720.

Que S. A. R., après avoir pris quelques jours comme pour examiner ce projet nouveau, paraisse l'approuver en tout ou en partie, et que, sous prétexte de le perfectionner, elle charge le Parlement de nommer une députation pour venir examiner ce projet avec elle.

Qu'après qu'on sera convenu de part et d'autre qu'il est bon, S. A. R. fasse dresser une déclaration du Roi, qui, après avoir détaillé avec noblesse et simplicité les différens efforts que S. A. R. a faits pour le bien du royaume, le soulagement des peuples, l'acquit des dettes, et l'augmentation du commerce, marque, qu'afin de porter plutôt ce louable dessein à sa perfection, Elle a pris l'avis des plus habiles sujets de S. M., et principalement du Parlement de Paris, et que l'on est demeuré d'accord de ce qui s'en suivra, &c.

Que cette conduite et la tournure du préambule de la déclaration non-seulement toucheront le Parlement, qui la regardera comme son propre ouvrage, et qui l'enrégistrera d'une manière solemnelle, mais charmera les peuples, et les ramenera à un tel dégré de confiance que S. A. R. se trouvera tout d'un coup plus aimée, plus accreditée, et plus affermie que jamais, d'autant plus que pour l'accomplissement de son ouvrage, Elle devra faire en même temps deux choses essentielles; l'une de rappeller le Parlement à Paris, et l'autre de faire sortir M. Law du royaume, en lui permettant néanmoins d'emporter assez de bien pour jouir d'une retraite agréable.

My Lord Stanhope se flatte que S. A. R. considérera que tant

1720. qu'on n'a alarmé le Roi de la Grande Bretagne et ses ministres que sur les vues que M. Law pouvait avoir au préjudice de l'Angleterre, ils se sont tenus en repos et n'ont fait nulle tentative pour le faire éloigner, comptant bien que S. A. R. elle-même saurait le contenir et l'empêcher de leur nuire. Mais à présent qu'ils sont persuadés qu'il s'agit de S. A. R. elle-même, dont la situation sera tous les jours plus violente tant que M. Law se mêlera de nos finances et restera dans le royaume, ils croiraient se rendre complices en quelque sorte de tous les malheurs dont Elle est menacée, s'ils ne lui donnaient pas les meilleurs conseils qu'ils puissent lui suggérer, pour la mettre en état de regagner promptement la confiance publique, et la déterminer à renvoyer M. Law.

EARL STANHOPE TO SECRETARY CRAGGS.

[Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxxviii.]

A Hanovre, ce 1 *Octobre,* 1720.

MONSIEUR,

A MESURE que le Congrès de Cambray approche et que le Roi considère le tour que prennent les affaires de l'Europe, sa Majesté se persuade que ses intérêts et ceux de la nation exigent, que ce que nous pouvons avoir à régler avec l'Espagne, soit réglé avant ce Congrès, ou de manière, au moins, que les demandes respectives entre nous et l'Espagne n'y puissent pas être discutées. Sa Majesté croit que rien ne nous est plus essentiel, à tous égards, que de ne laisser aucune prise sur nous aux autres Puissances qui assisteront au dit Congrès. La France, jalouse de notre commerce, s'intriguerait à nous rendre difficiles les choses les plus claires, lorsque nous viendrions à en traiter sous ses yeux ; et il est fort à présumer, qu'elle s'efforcerait à nous susciter bien d'autres embarras, si elle voyait jour, à nous commettre avec l'Espagne. Nous avons contenu jus-

qu'à présent le Régent; mais il ne nous a ménagé qu'autant 1720.
qu'il craignait pour lui-même; et au milieu des démarches publiques de bonne foi que nous lui extorquions, il n'a cessé de travailler sous main à détourner de dessus lui les vues du Roi d'Espagne en lui présentant d'autres objets. Nous devrions naturellement faire fond sur l'Empereur. Mais non-seulement il ne croit point nous devoir de la reconnaissance pour les secours que nous lui avons fournis en vertu de nos engagemens; il paraît même nous savoir mauvais gré d'avoir plus figuré que lui en le sauvant et ajoutant la Sicile à ses autres états. Il en use mal avec nous dans le Nord. Il se cache à nous de ses intentions, et élude nos instances, tantôt sous un prétexte, tantôt sous un autre. Il fait même des démarches qui le feraient plutôt croire dans les intérêts du Czar, que dans les nôtres. Nos liaisons avec les Puissances Protestantes lui font ombrage; et tandis qu'il reste spectateur tranquille de nos embarras dans le Nord, quelque urgent intérêt qu'il ait à y prendre part, peut-être verrait-il volontiers qu'il nous en survint dans le Sud, afin que nous en fussions moins en état de soutenir les Protestans opprimés dans l'Empire. Mais quand l'Empereur n'aurait nulle seconde vue à notre égard, du moins n'aurions nous pas à attendre de lui qu'il se mit en peine de nos convéniences, dès qu'en les sacrifiant il pourrait ménager pour lui-même le moindre avantage, ou éviter le moindre inconvénient.

Non-seulement traiterions nous avec beaucoup de désavantage au Congrès de Cambray; mais nous y perdrions aussi tout notre poids, en ce que les autres Puissances traiteraient ensemble, s'il fallait que nous eussions recours à elles pour nos propres affaires. Nous dépendrions de tous en quelque manière, et nous leur serions inutiles à tous, puisque nous n'oserions appuyer sur rien avec dignité, ni vers la France, ni vers l'Espagne, ni vers l'Empereur, crainte de nous en ressentir: au lieu que si nous et l'Espagne n'avions plus rien à nous demander l'un à l'autre, nous aurions ensuite les mains libres pour obliger qui nous voudrions, et pour faire rechercher et respecter nos offices par tous les divers contractans.

Mais s'il nous est essentiel d'arrêter incessamment avec

1720. l'Espagne tout ce qui doit entrer dans notre paix particulière avec elle, sans en rien réserver pour le Congrès, nous ne devons pas nous flatter que le Roi d'Espagne y donne les mains, sans que nous fassions rien pour lui. Il ne se propose point de nous rétablir et faire jouir des avantages stipulés en notre faveur par les traités précédens, et moins encore de les mieux régler ou d'y en ajouter de nouveaux : à moins que nous ne l'en tentions par quelque endroit. Dès que nous lui proposerons de traiter avec nous, il nous proposera de son côté la cession de Gibraltar ; et si nous la lui refusons, il renverra notre traité au Congrès, où il sera sûr d'être appuyé dans cette demande par la France, et peut-être encore par d'autres Puissances. Ce point doit donc être déterminé avant que nous commencions à négocier avec l'Espagne.

Sa Majesté avait permis que Gibraltar fut offert au Roi d'Espagne, pour éviter la rupture, et les frais et les pertes qu'elle entrainerait. La rupture qui a suivie a annullé cette offre, et ensuite le Roi d'Espagne a purement et simplement accepté le traité de la Quadruple Alliance, duquel la cession de Gibraltar n'a jamais été une condition. A la vérité le Roi d'Espagne a prétendu l'en faire une, depuis son acceptation, et la France l'a hautement soutenu ; deux motifs également forts, pour que sa Majesté s'opposât constamment à cette prétension. Elle a fait voir au Roi d'Espagne qu'il a nulle espèce de droit de la former ; mais c'est tout qu'elle a pu faire. Et si elle l'a convaincu qu'il n'est point fondé à pretendre à Gibraltar, elle n'a pas pu parvenir à lui en ôter le désir.

Le Roi d'Espagne se pique personnellement du recouvrement de cette place par point d'honneur et par scrupule de conscience. Il a compté sur les assurances que le Régent lui en avait renouvelées à notre insu que Gibraltar lui serait cédé à la paix. Il l'a annoncé aux Espagnols avec la paix, et il ne voudrait pas volontiers s'en dédire ; et il sera inquiet, tant qu'il verra une garnison Protestante dans le Continent de l'Espagne. Ce sont les raisons qu'il a lui-même remontrées à nos Ministres, ne pouvant disconvenir, que sa Majesté est en droit de lui refuser Gibraltar.

Ces raisons ont induit sa Majesté à m'ordonner de faire considérer aux Seigneurs Justiciers, si l'on ne devrait profiter de cette forte envie qu'a le Roi d'Espagne de recouvrer Gibraltar, pour tâcher d'en obtenir un équivalent avantageux à notre commerce, et qui mette solidement à couvert les branches que les traités précédens ont laissé les plus exposées. En ce cas il paraîtrait à sa Majesté que Gibraltar ne serait guère à regretter pour nous. 1720.

Le Roi d'Espagne, après s'être ouvert à nos Ministres des raisons qui lui font souhaiter Gibraltar, y ajouta celles qui pourraient prouver que la conservation de cette place nous est de peu d'importance. Il dit qu'en tems de paix nous en aurions l'usage sans les dépenses, quand elle serait entre ses mains; et qu'en tems de guerre il peut nous l'enlever à peu de frais, ou nous en rendre le port inutile, par des batteries dressées sur son propre terrain.

Quant à l'utilité que nous pouvons tirer de Gibraltar, en tems de guerre, quelle qu'elle soit, on doit la péser, non-seulement contre l'équivalent qu'on tacherait d'en retirer, mais aussi contre l'apparence quasi certaine, que, moyennant cette complaisance, nous pourrions empêcher que de long tems l'Espagne ne s'unisse à la France, pour conjointement avec elle nous faire la guerre.

L'aversion qu'a le Roi d'Espagne pour le Régent pourra nous aider à faire valoir avec succès la cession de Gibraltar pour l'une et l'autre de ces deux fins. Ni nos engagemens, ni nos intérêts ne sauraient nous permettre de conniver aux vues du Roi d'Espagne contre le Régent; mais ses vues pourront nous servir pour entretenir ces deux princes dans un éloignement salutaire. Notre sureté et la tranquillité publique l'exigent, parcequ'ils ne sauraient s'entendre ensemble, que ce ne soit contre un tiers, trop faible à leur résister. Or, il semble que ce serait agir contradictoirement à ce principe que de persister à refuser Gibraltar au Roi d'Espagne contre un équivalent. Nous savons combien la restitution de cette place lui tient à cœur. S'il ne peut l'obtenir de notre bonne volonté, il aura de nouveau recours à l'assistance du Régent; celui-ci serait prêt à se

1720. faire un mérite auprès de lui en l'obligeant à nos dépens, et conséquemment en le commettant avec nous; et quand une fois ils seraient d'accord contre nous, il serait fort à craindre que leur intelligence n'allât plus loin, et que nous ne serions plus à temps de l'arrêter. Alors nous ferions également le jeu de la France, en refusant Gibraltar, ou en le cédant.

Le Roi d'Espagne nous témoigne vouloir vivre en bonne amitié avec nous, et il nous importe sans doute de ne pas l'en décourager. Or, nous venons de lui imposer un traité auquel il avait refusé de concourir; nous avons détruit sa marine; nous lui avons arraché la Sicile, pour la donner à l'Empereur; il nous voit résolu de nous opposer de toutes nos forces aux desseins qu'il a sur la France; et qu'espère-t-il de notre amitié si en ce que nous pourrions lui accorder, sans manquer ni à nous-mêmes, ni à nos alliés, il nous trouvait tout aussi inébranlables que dans la foi de nos traités?

Sa Majesté sait qu'il ne conviendrait ni à sa dignité, ni au bien de ses affaires de céder Gibraltar aux instances de la France, à qui l'Espagne s'en croirait alors redevable. Sa Majesté sait aussi qu'il serait de dangereuse conséquence de céder Gibraltar au Roi d'Espagne, tant qu'il le prétendrait de droit, puisque alors il ne nous en tiendrait nul compte, et pourrait même de là prendre prétexte pour taxer à l'avenir par de nouvelles prétensions, ce que nous exigerions de lui en vertu de nos traités. Mais Sa Majesté croit que ce serait nous exposer de gaieté de cœur à bien des embarras et des périls, que de refuser Gibraltar au Roi d'Espagne, lorsqu'il ne le recherche plus que comme une faveur, et de nous immédiatement; au lieu qu'en lui en assurant la restitution, avant qu'il vient à traiter avec ses autres ennemis, nous assurerions nos avantages, nous tournerions toutes ses espérances vers nous, nous influerions même ses conseils, et pourrions par nos soins acquérir sur lui un ascendant, que le Régent aurait ensuite peine à détruire.

Sa Majesté étant ainsi d'opinion que c'est présentement le tems où nous pourrions tirer le meilleur parti de Gibraltar, par rapport au personnel du Roi d'Espagne, elle expose aux Seigneurs Justiciers toutes ces considérations sur ce sujet,

afin qu'ils soient d'autant mieux en état de lui donner leurs avis sur la question qu'il s'agit de résoudre avant toutes choses, si en aucun cas on ne doit céder Gibraltar, ou si l'on pourrait en faire un meilleur usage que d'en retirer un équivalent. 1720.

Quelques favorables que nous soient les dispositions des Espagnols, il ne faut point se flatter que nous puissions nous emparer de leur confiance, tant que nous nous opiniâtrerions à garder Gibraltar; monument qui leur rappellerait toujours le souvenir des maux que nous leur avons causés, et serait aux prêtres le motif le plus puissant pour inspirer contre les étrangers hérétiques une nation fière et bigote. Il s'agit aussi de savoir de quelle importance il est de garder Gibraltar comparativement aux frais qu'il faut pour son entretien ordinaire, et aux frais extraordinaires qu'il faudrait pour en faire une véritablement bonne place.

SIR LUKE SCHAUB TO MR. WILLIAM STANHOPE AT MADRID.

[Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxxviii.]

(*Extract.*)

A Londres, ce 17 Novembre, 1720.

My Lord Townshend n'a pas osé désapprouver entièrement la lettre de my Lord Stanhope.* Il dit même qu'en gros il est du même sentiment, mais que les équivalens qui y sont avancés ne contenteront pas le Parlement; et que si l'on obtenait du Roi d'Espagne un équivalent en terre, alors il ne faudrait pas balancer de céder Gibraltar. Quand on lui demande quel terrain il a en vue, il dit que c'est la Floride, ou bien la partie orientale de l'île Hispaniola. Il prétend que ces pays sont très-inutiles aux Espagnols, et que même il leur conviendrait beaucoup mieux de nous remettre la Floride que de la garder.

* The preceding letter.

1722. Vous, Monsieur, qui êtes sur les lieux, et qui vivez en confiance avec Don André de Pez, prenez occasion en lui racontant les difficultés qui se rencontrent dans notre nation par rapport à Gibraltar, de lui dire qu'un équivalent en terre pourrait les aplanir ; et demandez lui en bonne amitié s'il ne saurait pas quelque morceau de terrain dans les Indes qu'il conviendrait mieux aux Espagnols de nous donner que de posséder eux-mêmes. Vous pourrez même dans la conversation lui glisser un mot ou de la Floride ou d'Hispaniola, et donnez nous là-dessus tous les éclaircissements, et le plutôt, que vous pourrez.

Je vous supplie de faire mes complimens à Monsieur de Grimaldo, comme aussi au Père Confesseur, en le faisant souvenir du Crucifix dont il m'a fait présent à mon départ.

La désolation ici est très-grande : l'on espère d'y remédier quant au public ; mais quantité de particuliers ne laisseront pas d'être abimés sans ressource.

MR. W. STANHOPE TO LORD CARTERET.

Madrid, June 8. *N.S.* 1722.

I HAD intelligence to be relied upon, that the Duke of Ormond intended speedily to pass into England, with a great number of Irish officers now in the service of his Catholic Majesty, in order to put himself at the head of the rebels there, and for that purpose would set out from hence to-morrow, under the pretence of going for the rest of the summer to Ventosilla, a house of the Duke of Medina Celi, half way from hence to Bilboa ; but in reality to be thereby readier to pass to that port with less suspicion, and embark from thence for England, whenever matters should be ripe for his so doing. I thought it my duty to use my utmost endeavours for the preventing him from putting his designs in execution ; and although I had not been commanded by his Majesty to make any instances to this Court in relation to the said Duke, &c., I hoped if I should

have erred in taking upon myself the doing of it, his Majesty would be graciously pleased to pardon it, as an effect of zeal, that would not suffer me to neglect any thing that carried the least possibility of being for his service in an affair of the nature of the present one, and therefore I ventured to send a private letter to the Marquis de Grimaldo (of which herewith is a copy); who immediately on the receipt of it writ me the enclosed answer, which I received this morning; and although the success fully answers what I proposed by my said letter, yet as the writing of it might possibly have an ill effect in case the King of Spain had refused what I demanded, as carrying an appearance of his not being so zealous in his friendship for his Majesty, as in the present circumstances it is convenient he should be thought to be, I hope your Lordship will excuse my troubling you with the reasons that weighed with me for the getting over that consideration, viz. the undoubted knowledge I flattered myself with having of the sincere friendship of his Catholic Majesty for the King our master, and of his having entirely abandoned the interests of the Pretender from the assurances he has been pleased to give me himself of both; and from the repeated confirmations of the same things from the Marquis de Grimaldo. I am assured by a good hand, that there is at present in Mr. Brown's hands, an Irish merchant at Bilboa, near 12,000 arms for the Pretender's service; that one Captain Morgan, formerly an agent in England, and at present commanding three small ships of thirty odd guns upon the coast of Spain, is to sail to the Bay of Biscay, in order to transport the said arms to England, together with the Duke of Ormond, and what officers and men can be got; that the place for landing is most certainly either Bristol, Milford, or Hylake, though the unexpected discovery of the conspiracy may possibly stop the Duke of Ormond's departure. 1722.

1723.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

[Hardwicke Papers.]

(*Extract.*)

Hanover, Sept. 17. *N.S.* 1723.

THE chief occasion of my despatching this messenger is to let you know, that I have received his Majesty's commands to draw a bill on the treasury for 500*l.*, and another bill for the like sum, a post or two hence; for a service which it is his Majesty's pleasure should remain an entire secret; and which I must therefore beg of you may be kept as such even from the Duchess of Kendal. I make no doubt but this reservedness towards her Grace, towards whom we have sworn an eternal and inviolable attachment, will at first surprise you not a little; but your astonishment will cease when I acquaint you, that the share I have had in this affair has been in obedience to the Countess of Walsingham.

SIR LUKE SCHAUB TO MR. W. STANHOPE.

[Coxe's Collections, vol. lxxv. p. 14.]

A Calais, ce 20 *Juin, N.S.*, 1724.

JE ne quitterai pas la France entièrement sans prendre congé de vous. Etant appellé à Londres il y a deux mois, je vous promis de vous écrire de là, et je l'aurais fait, si Monsieur votre frère ne s'était chargé de vous écrire pour lui et pour moi. Ce qui m'a consolé dans le changement arrivé dans notre ministère, c'est l'assurance que le Duc de Newcastle signalera tant qu'il le pourra son zèle pour la mémoire et les proches du feu my Lord Stanhope. Quant à moi, je devrais tout espérer des présens

ministres à en juger par leurs complimens ; mais vous croyez bien 1724.
que cela ne me retiendrait pas un instant si le Roi lui-même n'avait exigé de moi, que je demeurasse avec lui. Et effectivement je ne saurais assez vous dire combien il m'a marqué de bontés, et combien j'y suis sensible. S. M. m'a renvoyé en France pour m'y congédier, et pour assister au mariage de Mademoiselle de Platen avec le Comte de St. Florentin. J'ai passé environ six semaines tant à Paris qu'à Versailles, et vous auriez eu pendant ce tems de mes nouvelles, si je ne m'étais fait une loi de n'écrire à âme vivante tant que je serais à portée de la Cour de France. J'avais déjà essuyé assez d'impostures, pour m'attendre qu'on m'accuserait de traverser Monsieur Walpole, si je me mêlais de la moindre chose, ou pour peu que je parusse être instruit de ce qui se passait. C'est ce qui m'a fait cesser abruptement toutes mes correspondances. Encore Monsieur Walpole ne laisse-t-il pas de se plaindre de moi ; mais je m'en mets peu en peine. Je me soucie moins d'éviter ses plaintes que de n'y pas donner lieu : s'il était juste il s'en prendrait plutôt à soi-même qu'à moi du peu d'empressement que bien des gens ont pour lui ; et vous conviendrez que s'il ne plait guère, c'est plus sa faute que la mienne. Il est vrai qu'il s'est assez employé à me faire du mal, pour qu'il me fût légitime de lui en rendre quelque peu ; mais outre que je ne suis pas né vindicatif, vous serez aisément persuadé que je le suis encore moins là où je ne le pourrais être sans nuire au service du Roi, quand ce ne serait que par le mépris de son ministre. Je vais m'embarquer pour retourner à Londres. Je tacherai d'obtenir de Sa Majesté la permission de me retirer dans ma patrie.

1724.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

[Walpole Papers.]

Whitehall, June 11th, O.S., 1724.

I HEAR Sir L. Schaub arrived here last night, and you may be assured he shall not be better treated than he deserves. They say he has had a fall from his horse, which hinders him from stirring out; but I have heard nothing directly from him. When I have more time I shall trouble you with some curiosities that I have learnt from Chavigny. You will not wonder if we all here dread Mr. Broglio's arrival; but we are determined to show him all manner of respect and civility. It is very plain, by Mr. Morville's way of talking to you now, that he has been so idle as to give some credit to Schaub's representations; but I hope all that is now over; and I doubt not but you will endeavour, as far as is consistent with your intimacy and correspondence with 672 (Fleury) (which is to be preferred to all other considerations), to set yourself well with Monseigneur le Duc and him. But you will see I have not so much as hinted at this in any of my other letters, lest the King should apprehend the coolness that Mr. Morville shows to you was occasioned by your behaviour towards him, when it is very certain that Schaub has been the chief occasion of it, with some jealousy he may have conceived about 672. The last paragraph in your letter, relating to the Duchess of Kendal, I shall not fail to communicate to her; but she has been of late so ill, and we have been in such fears for her (though I hope she is now out of danger), that we have not talked of any business to her.

HORACE WALPOLE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.[1]

Paris, August 28. 1724.

DEAR BROTHER,

LORD PETERBOROUGH having desired that an express may be ready to carry his letters for Lord Townshend to Calais, although I have nothing to write to the Secretary's Office, having not yet been at Fontainebleau, as well on account of my wife having miscarried, as because I have at present no business there; yet I think I cannot well omit this opportunity of writing to some of you, if it is only to give you a plain account of what has passed since his Lordship's arrival.

He came to Paris the 25th instant; made me a visit that night; mentioned his having talked with Lord Townshend about his design to meet Monteleon; that you had given him some directions which Lord T. had since put in writing for his conduct; and so took his leave without entering into particulars. The next day in the evening his Lordship came to see me with M. de Monteleon; and in our conversation Monteleon took occasion to tell me that he should, in what he had to propose, confine himself to the Quadruple Alliance, and the execution of that without any design of entering into a new war; but only to make the Emperor sensible that the three Powers of England, France, and Spain, are resolved to see it executed; but that he was not such a fool as to enter into wild projects, &c. After this general declaration, Monteleon took his leave; and leaving Lord Peterborough with me, his Lordship's discourse entirely turned in praise of Monteleon, as the honestest man that was ever known, and as the greatest friend to England; that his chief view was to please the King; but that he must be careful not to disoblige France by showing too great a preference to His Majesty; and therefore he would propose his scheme first here, and make a merit with France by it, reserving to be finally regulated and settled in England according to His Majesty's intentions; and therefore Lord Peterborough desired me to be easy

1727. in letting Monteleon make his court here first, without a previous communication to me of his project, as a means to be better able to serve England. I told his Lordship I should be very easy in the matter; but, indeed, he would find the French Ministers would not resolve upon any thing without His Majesty's approbation; and I think we had little discourse besides, except it was a few words about the Czar, wherein I told him that I was persuaded this Court would not make a treaty with the Czar without us; and that was all which passed then. His Lordship dined yesterday with me *en famille;* but nothing passed about business. He entertained the table with some of his old frolics in Spain; with my having been his enemy formerly; but having reconciled himself to the chief of the family, he believed all was now well again with us.

After dinner I carried him to see Count Landi, the Minister of Parma, where Monteleon and a great deal of company had dined; where, after he and his friend had entertained the company some time, I left him, being obliged to make some visits, as his Lordship was to go and see some ladies.

MR. W. STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

[Harrington Papers.]

(*Extract.*)

Madrid, Feb. 10. *N.S.* 1727.

All the advices that come this day from Andalusia agree that the Spanish army is actually encamped in sight of and within a little half league of Gibraltar, with which place a sort of communication by land and sea has been publicly prohibited upon pain of death, and the utmost diligence and preparations made use of for the beginning the siege, which only waited for the coming up of the artillery, part of which was already

arrived, and the rest upon its march, as fast as the badness of the weather and the roads would possibly allow; and as positive orders were sent from hence eight days ago for the immediate opening of the trenches, this Court is in hourly expectation of a courier with an account of the siege being actually begun; upon whose arrival I shall immediately write to your Grace by a French Officer, who returns post to Paris, and only waits here for that purpose. 1730.

Every thing remains in the same situation as when I had the honour to write last to your Grace, no courier being since arrived from Vienna, which is the only thing capable of occasioning any alterations in the systems or proceedings of this Court.

As I am fully convinced of this Court's having for the present laid aside their intended expedition in favour of the Pretender, and as I have taken the most effectual measures to be informed immediately, though absent, of any that may afterwards be retaken of that nature, I humbly think I ought to demand a passport from this Court as soon as the news shall arrive of Gibraltar's being actually attacked.

MEMORANDUM BY EARL WALDEGRAVE.

[Waldegrave Papers.]

Notes relatiug to my coming here.

(*Paris*, 1730.)

D. of Newcastle childish about it. Takes it to be an encroachment.

Pleads his promise to Essex.

Essex grounded on a former promise of Lord Carteret: a very bad argument at this time.

D. of N. insists it's a job of Lord Townshend for me, which I could not allow.

1730. Threats used to make me decline it, ineffectual.
Refer myself wholly to Lord T.

Writ nothing to Lord T. of the difficulties between the first advice, and my declaring I would wait Lord T. further orders. I am told that if I would have given up I might have a pension of 1200*l.* till a place, that I sowed discord between two brothers, that I could hope for no advantage but from the Treasury.

That Mr. Walpole was disobliged. I did not find it in the sequel; but found the D. of N. to be angry.

No sort of lights given me from the D. of N.'s Office; but the day before I set out, received some small favour from D. of N. in copies of letters from Mr. W. the ambassador.

The directions from D. of N. given mighty short, and a seeming dislike to my going, though after my arrival at Paris received an obliging letter.

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES.

Hague, Sept. 15. 1730.

My last letters from Berlin inform me that the King of Prussia had beaten the Princess Royal, his daughter, most unmercifully; dragged her about the room by the hair, kicking her in the belly and breast, till her cries alarmed the officer of the guards, who came in. She keeps her bed of the bruises she received. Twenty pence a day is allowed for the maintenance of the Prince Royal in the Castle of Custrin; and the enquiry is carried on with rigour, under the direction of Monsieur Grumkow.

JACOBITE PROPHECY.

BARON POLNITZ tells us, in his Memoirs (vol. ii. p. 63. ed. 1737) that in 1731 the following Prophecy was in every body's mouth at Rome. It points to the year 1734.

CUM MARCUS CANTABIT HALLELUJAH,
ET ANTONIUS VENI CREATOR,
ET JOANNES BAPTISTA CŒNABIT,
TUM REGNABIT ET TRIUMPHABIT REX IN ANGLIA JACOBUS III.

When Easter falls on St. Mark's Day,
And Whitsunday on St. Antony's,
And when St. John the Baptist's is a Sacrament Day,
Then King James III. shall reign and triumph in England!

MR. KEENE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Seville, Feb. 2. 1731.

THERE have been several little disputes between their Catholic Majesties about their irregular way of life and the time of hearing mass; but they still continue in the same method, and go to bed at ten in the morning and rise at five in the afternoon. It is generally thought that the Queen is with child.

LORD HARRINGTON TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

[Harrington Papers.]

Whitehall, March 15. 1733.

My Lord,

The affair of the intended excises, upon which so much ferment has been artfully raised in the nation, came on yesterday. There scarce ever was a greater appearance of Members in the House, and a more numerous crowd in the Court of Requests, Westminster Hall, and the adjoining places and passages. The precaution usual on such occasions, of having Justices of Peace and constables at hand, was taken, but proved happily quite unnecessary, for there did not happen the least incident tending to a tumult.

The debate was opened, about three quarters past 12 at noon, by Sir Robert Walpole, who, in a speech that lasted two hours and a quarter, explained his scheme as to the tobacco (for that relating to wine is deferred till after the holidays), which he did with so much perspicuity and strength of argument, that it was allowed to exceed any speech he ever made. I will next name the speakers in their order, underlining those who were against the question. *Alderman Perry*, Sir W. Yonge, *Sir Paul Methuen*, the Attorney-General, *Sir John Barnard* (here the Commissioners of the Customs were called in and examined as to certain facts), *Sir John Barnard* again, Mr. Winnington, Mr. Henry Pelham, *Mr. Shippen*, the Master of the Rolls, *Mr. Heathcote*, the Solicitor-General, *Mr. Pulteney*, *Sir William Wyndham*. Sir Robert Walpole closed the debate; and about half an hour after midnight the question was put for putting fourpence of the duty on tobacco under the Excise, and carried by 265 against 204. The fifth penny, which goes to the Civil List, remains in the customs, which obviates one objection, that this is done to augment the Civil List revenue.

The debate on the side of those who spoke for the question was urged with great dignity and strength of reasoning. The speeches that were most admired were Sir Robert Walpole's, of whom it was observed that he possessed himself, and was in as high spirits when he spoke last as at the beginning of the day; the Attorney's and Solicitor's, and the Master of the Rolls' *, which last gentleman, though strongly attached to the Royal Family and Constitution, does, your Excellency knows, through a particular turn of mind, seldom vote with the Court party, as it is called. He solemnly protested (and every body believes with great truth) that he came quite unbiassed, and fully resolved to be determined by the debate, to which he said he had diligently attended, had heard strong arguments on one side, and trifling and evasive ones on the other; which he recapitulated fairly on both sides, adding some good reasons of his own, which induced him to be for the question. Two other members have been named to me, who have owned that they came determined to have voted against the question; and from their known principles and conduct, and the company they keep, it could not well be otherwise; yet they were convinced by the debate, and voted for the question. 1733.

I must own the majority was much greater than I expected, considering what art has been used to inflame the country boroughs, and make them (though in several places it was done by stratagem) write to their representatives to oppose the scheme, which could not but influence several of the members, with an eye to their future re-elections, which your Excellency knows are not very distant. However, the debate was well attended; for besides 471, as full a House, perhaps, as was ever known, there were in town Sir Robert Furnese, who died that morning, and eleven more that are so ill, that the state of their health would not possibly permit them to come to the House.

Give me leave, my Lord, to wish you joy of the carrying a point of as great importance as almost any one that has been brought into debate since the Revolution; for besides the put-

* Sir Joseph Jekyll.

1733. ting an end to frauds and perjuries, &c., too frequently practised in the Customs, and other considerations relating to the revenue, this event will shew that neither the Ministry nor the Parliament are to be deterred by popular clamour from doing what is for the King's and Country's service. Then, my Lord, without a farthing new or additional impost being laid, but only an alteration in the manner of collecting the revenue, here will be such an improvement of it (calculated at 5 or 600,000*l.* a year) as will enable the Parliament to take the Land Tax off entirely; which will always be a sure, known, ready fund of two millions a year upon any emergency, and might produce much more could it be equally laid, for which its having been disused might possibly give an opportunity. The land owners having had the comfort to find that they are not to be eternally burthened with this tax, will upon an extraordinary occasion pay it cheerfully, when they find it is to end with the necessity (whenever it should unfortunately happen), that might bring it upon them. Then, as to the present time, the shopkeepers finding this excise, in the practice, not to be so terrible a monster as it has been painted to them, may be easy with it; and if any dissatisfaction should remain, which can scarcely be expected with them in the country, who will only see the same officer who already visits them on account of their tea, coffee, &c., the gentlemen of estates in their neighbourhood, being put into good humour, will have influence enough over their tradesmen, whose subsistence depends upon them, to bring them likewise into temper. This takes off one objection to the land forces, that they are the occasion of perpetuating the Land Tax. The taking off of this tax ought surely to reconcile all those who are eased by this means to the present administration, and incline them to wish for such another Parliament when a new one shall be chosen, and to conciliate their interest towards it.

LORD HERVEY TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Kensington, Sept. 9. 1735.

DEAR SIR,

IF you find this prompt payment of so kind a letter as you honoured me with by the last post a troublesome return to so agreeable a distinction, your only way to prevent it for the future is not to put me in your debt; for whenever I am so obliged, unless you will point me out some other way, it must be so acknowledged.

The natural and sensible account you give of your present situation in Holland would certainly make me pity you in the midst of all the difficulties you have to struggle with, if I was not very well assured that the same honesty and good sense, that have carried you through as intricate and delicate negotiations in former times, will now extricate you out of these with credit to yourself, satisfaction to your master, pleasure to your friends, and benefit to your country.

I took the liberty to repeat to the Queen that part of your letter that related to her; for though, to people I am indifferent to, I make it a general rule to repeat nothing they say or write to me, yet with those to whom I feel I mean friendly and wish well, I act differently, and always think there is a discretionary power lodged in me to make the use I think fit of what they communicate. If ever therefore I err in this way towards you, you may find fault with me perhaps for judging ill, but I am sure it will never be in your power to reproach me with not meaning well.

The Queen is so perfectly recovered, that I never knew her in better humour, health, and spirits than she has been this morning. I wish some of those wise sanguine people in the

1735. opposition could have seen her, who affect such joy, and give out that a vacant apartment is to be inhabited this winter by a new favourite. The joy this prospect gives them might perhaps be a little damped when they found our apprehensions did not keep pace with their hopes, and that those who are as nearly concerned, and a little better informed, think as differently on the truth of this report as they would feel to the consequences of it if it were true.

It is no news to you, I suppose, that the Duchess of Buckingham and her son are gone abroad again, any more than the particulars of the very extraordinary letter she wrote to your brother to notify her departure; however, there was one expression I cannot help repeating to you, which perhaps things of more importance prevented him from telling you of, and that is her calling her son *a subject of this place*, without saying of whom.

The University of Oxford have lately paid my Lord Chancellor * a great compliment by giving him his degrees in person in the theatre; which is a distinction that was never before shown to any body but a prince of the blood. I remember formerly to have read in Cicero's epistles to Atticus, that, when the Senate of Rome conferred the Senatorian rank, by an extraordinary law, on young Octavius, Tully says this compliment was paid as much to mortify Antony as to oblige Octavius. Whether the Bishop of London is the Antony of this compliment I know not; but whatever the University and the clergy meant by this act, it is thus the world and the laity interpret it; and though the father's prudence is silent on this particular, the son's triumph, as I am informed, is less private.

The Bishop of Winchester's † late Book upon the Sacrament has made many enemies, or at least has given occasion to many people to show themselves such. Those who censure him on this occasion say it is written to take off all reverence for the Sacrament; those who justify him say it is only to take off the horror; but those who are reasonable about it, I think should

* Lord Talbot. † Dr. Hoadley.

neither censure the doctrine nor justify the publication. Things are very well as they are: why stir them? 1735.

It is with many parts of policy, both in government and religion, as it is with some liquors: they will neither bear being shaken, nor going too near the bottom; for which reason, in both these cases, it is very ill judged to run the risk of spoiling all that is clear and good, only to squeeze a little more out of what is bad. When I reproached the Bishop of Winchester for publishing this book, without ever saying one word to me about it beforehand, his answer was, that he would not tell me of it, because he knew I should advise him against it, and he was determined to do it. Adieu; I have not room for a formal conclusion; but am, &c.

LORD HERVEY TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Kensington, Sept. 12. 1735.

You need not fear my troubling you, dear Sir, with another long letter this post, after the unreasonable one you had by the last; for I now write to you from the waiting-rooms, with Mrs. Selwyn and her family talking so fast round me, that I hardly know whether I am writing my own thoughts or their words. My only reason for writing at all is, because I cannot send you the enclosed * without telling you it gives general satisfaction on a point that has long been the occasion of a Craftsman triumph against us. Upon the whole, I think it well written; but the two last paragraphs (I do not mean the advertisements) incomparable: they are perfectly what the Italians call *ben trovato*. I disapprove the motto extremely: they are reflections which ought never to be cast, as they never,

* Sir Robert Walpole's vindication for drawing the outline of a contract between the Bank and South Sea companies, in the autumn of 1720.

1735. with sensible people, hurt the [illegible] on whom they are thrown, if they are true, and always hurt [illegible] those who throw them, true or false; and I think, too, that much more might have been said in justification of Sir Robert's [illegible] wing this contract, than that he was implored and importuned [illegible] to draw it: the circumstances of those times, and general [illegible] in that general confusion being apprehended, was, sure, a full [illegible] ustification of any body who tried to prevent it by the only [illegible] ethod that the whole world then thought would prevent it.

The news of Prince Eugene [illegible]'s having left the camp, and being returned to Vienna, is at present the topic of every coffee-house conversation, as well [illegible]s every Court whisper; till the reason of this sudden unexpected [illegible]ed step becomes as public as the fact, it will occasion great [illegible] speculation among the politicians, and give birth to many [illegible]jectures among the refiners. I may talk, perhaps, my dear M[illegible]. Walpole, extremely *en ignorant;* but to one who, like me, [illegible]es nothing more than the surface of events, and knows not [illegible]hing of the deeper springs of causes, surely this war must seem [illegible]em the oddest that ever was carried on: the campaign last year [illegible]r in Italy was not more unreasonably bloody, than that of this [illegible]is year on the Rhine is unaccountably bloodless. France is [illegible]efractory in all reasonable proposals for peace, and yet seems afraid to prosecute the war. On the other hand, the Emperor [illegible]ror ransacks the remotest parts of barbarism under the pole, to [illegible] fetch 30,000 Russian bears to strengthen his troops; and the moment [illegible]oment he has fetched an army to his general he sends for his general [illegible]eneral from the army: *tout cela me passe.*

I set out with a promise [illegible]mise not to trouble you with a long letter; but I have kept my word [illegible]word very ill, and, I fear, have broken it very ill too; for in the noise [illegible]e noise I write I fear the little meaning I have to boast of will be quite [illegible]be quite unintelligible. There is one truth I am sure I can answer [illegible]answer for, which is my being, &c.

1736.

MR. WALTON TO THE L[redacted]E OF NEWCASTLE.

[Coxe's Collectio[redacted] vol. lii.]

(*Extrac*

[redacted]rence, le 30 *Juin*, 1736.

Je n'ai pas eu un journal suivi d'A[redacted]o.... Je sais seulement que Hay, dit Lord Inverness, est reve[redacted]à Albano de son voyage de Naples, et que dans peu il doit r[redacted]urner à Avignon. Le Prétendant, pendant cette villeggiatur[redacted], été plus qu'ordinairement mélancolique et sombre, et sa sa[redacted]é devient de jour en jour plus faible.

Depuis les vexations souffertes par les Espagnols, il est entré un tel enthousiasme dans l'esprit du [redacted]ême peuple habitant l'Etat Ecclésiastique, que presque tous [redacted]ont devenus partisans de l'Empereur. Un vigneron demeur[redacted]nt hors de la Porte Latine de Rome, sur son lit de mort a [redacted]stitué par testament l'Empereur son héritier universel, lui laiss[redacted]nt sa vigne et habitation y annexée, deux sacs de blé, quatre *[redacted]udi* en espèces, et ses meubles, proportionnés à la condition du t[redacted]tateur. Le Comte de Harrach, pour seconder l'affection du peup[redacted]e pour son maître, a envoyé prendre inventaire de l'héritage, ay[redacted]nt donné part à l'Empereur de cette étrange aventure!

THE END.

LONDON:
[redacted]ed by A. SPOTTISWOODE,
New-Street-Square.

P[redacted]

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